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# NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

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# CONTENTS

## NUMBER 1, JANUARY, 1964

	<i>Page</i>
The Founding of Albuquerque, 1706: An Historical-Legal Problem Richard E. Greenleaf	1
The Territories of Arizona Adlai Feather	16
Mexican Unionists: A Forgotten Incident of the War Between the States Clarence C. Clendenen	32
The Sheep Industry in Arizona, 1905-1906 ( <i>Concluded</i> ) Frank D. Reeve, <i>editor</i>	40
Book Reviews . . . . .	80

## NUMBER 2, APRIL, 1964

Origin of the Name Arizona Adlai Feather	89
Tlascalans in the Spanish Borderlands Marc Simmons	101
The Sheep Industry in Arizona, 1906 Frank D. Reeve, <i>editor</i>	111
Historical Society of New Mexico President's Report . . . . .	157
Book Reviews . . . . .	160

NUMBER 3, JULY, 1964

	<i>Page</i>
The Crumbling Adobes of Chamberino	
Marguerite Taylor Want	169
William Carr Lane, Diary	
Wm. G. B. Carson, <i>editor</i>	181
The Language of the Saline Pueblos: Piro or Tiwa?	
Albert H. Schroeder	235
Notes and Documents . . . . .	250
Historical Society of New Mexico	
New Mexico Hall of Fame	George Mason
	251
Book Reviews . . . . .	253

NUMBER 4, OCTOBER, 1964

The Rustler War	
Philip J. Rasch	257
William Carr Lane, Diary ( <i>concluded</i> )	
Wm. G. B. Carson, <i>editor</i>	274
Holm O. Bursum, Sheriff 1894	
Donald R. Moorman	333
Erna Mary Fergusson, 1888-1964	
W. A. Keleher	345
William Jackson Parish, 1907-1964	
Katherine Simons	351
Historical Society of New Mexico	
News Notes . . . . .	354
Index . . . . .	357

# *New Mexico Historical Review*



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	<i>Page</i>
The Founding of Albuquerque, 1706: An Historical Legal Problem Richard E. Greenleaf . . . . .	1
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# NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

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VOL. XXXIX

JANUARY, 1964

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## THE FOUNDING OF ALBUQUERQUE, 1706: AN HISTORICAL-LEGAL PROBLEM

*By* RICHARD E. GREENLEAF\*

### *Part One*

Title to ownership of land and use of water resources is a problem that plagues many southwestern communities that date their founding from Spanish colonial times. When litigation concerning property or water rights occurs, these communities have to take recourse to Spanish colonial laws and to official reports and instruments of founding that are often housed in the Mexican or Spanish archives. Such was the case in 1959 when the City of Albuquerque became involved in a dispute with the State Engineer over the use of waters in the Rio Grande basin of the Albuquerque area.

The City of Albuquerque based its case on the fact that Spanish colonial pueblos were conceded by royal legislation all of the water necessary for their growth and development. Since the doctrine of pueblo water rights had been established by California courts and since Texans were employing a like doctrine, the lawyers for the City of Albuquerque also pursued the same legal and historical path. There were many problems involved. Foremost of these were points of law and history which will be discussed later: Could the instrument of foundation of the City of Albuquerque be

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found? Could the doctrine of pueblo water rights established in California in the 1780's be applied to the *earlier* Albuquerque founding? Did Book IV, Title Seven of the Recopilación of 1680 apply to New Mexico in the early eighteenth century? Did the pueblo doctrine apply to underground waters as well as surface ones?<sup>1</sup>

Many scholars of New Mexicana had searched in vain for the charter of the City: Lansing Bloom had come up with a certificate of the founding; the foremost student of New Mexico's colonial history, the indefatigable France V. Scholes, had spent a lifetime searching the archives of Mexico and Spain for New Mexico materials; both Eleanor B. Adams and Frank D. Reeve had meticulously traversed the documentation for eighteenth century New Mexico; others including George P. Hammond, Charles W. Hackett, Adolph Bandelier, and their collaborators also had combed the archival materials. In light of previous searches and the activities of the fore-mentioned investigators, the author of this article realized the magnitude and hopelessness of the task when the City of Albuquerque charged him to find the *instrumento de fundición* and any analogous materials relating to the history of Albuquerque during the year 1706. This investigator searched through countless volumes of documents in Mexican national and provincial archives trying to find the charter where it might have been filed, or mis-filed, in litigations, economic materials relating to the Albuquerque area, or in political or Indian affairs documents. The results of the search were only moderately successful and are included later in this essay.

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1. Professor of Law Robert E. Clark of the University of New Mexico has dealt with the technical legal issues, and some of the historical ones, in his "The Pueblo Rights Doctrine in New Mexico," *New Mexico Historical Review* XXXV (1960), 265-283. It is not the purpose of this essay to present either a legal analysis or a history of the pueblo water rights doctrine. The reader is directed to the most recent survey of the subject (with considerable technical materials) of Betty Eakle Dobkins, *The Spanish Element in Texas Water Law* (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1959). For the legal and historical issues as they are presented by the City of Albuquerque, consult the Applicant's Brief before the District Court of Bernalillo County No. 70800; Specific citations from the Albuquerque Brief will be made later.

Historical research into Spanish law of the thirteenth through the eighteenth centuries dealing with land grants and water rights consumed many hours. The Spanish law assumed new importance when, on December 12, 1958, the Supreme Court of the State of New Mexico handed down its decision in the case of *Cartwright et al. vs. Public Service Company of New Mexico* that the law of pueblo rights, as known and recognized in California, was the law of New Mexico.<sup>2</sup> The California pueblo doctrine was founded on the legal code of the Comandancia General of the Provincias Internas<sup>3</sup> as detailed in the Plan of Pitic of 1789.<sup>4</sup> This plan for establishing the new town of Pitic, Sonora was prescribed by the Crown as the model for the founding of other pueblos in the Interior Provinces. The Plan of Pitic was merely an extension, in some cases re-expression, of colonization ordinances followed in Mexico since the 1570's and included in the Recopilación of 1680.<sup>5</sup> It was the pueblo water doctrine established by the Plan of Pitic and recognized by the California courts that the New Mexico Supreme Court recognized as the law in the Cartwright decision. Pursuant to this decision the Albuquerque case was argued.

The most succinct statement of the City of Albuquerque's claim to coverage by pueblo water rights doctrine can be gleaned from the table of contents of the City's brief submitted to Judge McPherson in the District Court of Bernalillo County:<sup>6</sup>

2. *Cartwright et al. vs. Public Service Company of New Mexico* (Dec. 12, 1958) 66 N.M. 64, 343 P.2d 654.

3. Bernardo de Gálvez, *Instructions for Governing the Interior Provinces of New Spain*, 1786. Translated and Edited by Donald E. Worcester (Berkeley: The Quivira Society, 1951).

4. "Instructions approved by His Majesty, and made for the establishing of the new town of Pitic, in the Province of Sonora, ordered to be adopted by the other new projected settlements (Poblaciones) and by those that may be established in the district of this General "Comandancia." This document from California Archives, Volume I, 853ff is published in Appendix VII of John W. Dwinelle, *The Colonial History of the City of San Francisco* (San Francisco: Towne and Bacon, 1863). The Albuquerque Brief, 13, cites titles six and seven of the Plan; the entire document was entered as evidence For analogous materials to the Plan of Pitic, see Dobkins, *op. cit.*, 94-102.

5. *Recopilación de leyes de los Reynos de las Indias* [1680] (Madrid: Boix, 1841), Four Volumes.

6. Albuquerque Brief, i.

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## Point I.

The Pueblo of San Felipe de Alburquerque was duly established under law as a Spanish colonization pueblo in the year 1706 and thereafter confirmed by royal decree.

## Point II.

As a duly founded colonization pueblo, the Villa of San Felipe de Alburquerque enjoyed the prior and paramount right to such amounts of water within its limits, both underground and surface, as were necessary to meet the needs of its inhabitants.

## Point III.

The City of Alburquerque is the successor in interest of the Villa of San Felipe de Alburquerque and as such, is entitled to all of its rights.

## Point IV.

The pueblo water rights of the Villa of San Felipe de Alburquerque, to which the City Albuquerque is the successor, are protected and exist today.

## Point V.

The appropriation of water from the four wells involved in this litigation is needed by the City of Albuquerque for the use and benefit of its inhabitants.

## Point VI.

The Rules and Regulations of the State Engineer cannot impair the pueblo water right of the City of Albuquerque.

Obviously the City's case rested upon proof that the City of Albuquerque was duly founded as a Spanish colonial pueblo, and this meant the submission of a certified copy of the instrument of foundation. In 1935, after examining many documents subsequent to 1706, Lansing Bloom opined that "unfortunately the official record of the actual founding seems to be lost beyond any hope of recovery."<sup>7</sup> Bloom placed responsibility for the loss to Albuquerque's first Alcalde Mayor, Capitán Martín Hurtado, who could not produce the instrument in 1727 when the governor wanted to see it in connection with land grants that Albuquerque inhabitants said Hurtado had made illegally. The recent Greenleaf search of archives at the behest of the City of Alberquer-

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7. Lansing Bloom, ed., "Albuquerque and Galisteo Certificate of their Founding, 1706," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW* X (1935), 49.



que has tended to support the Bloom statement. However, documents relating to Albuquerque in early 1706 contained in the same *ramo* as the Bloom certification of the founding tend to corroborate the City's claim to having been founded as a Spanish colonial Villa in accordance with Book IV, Title VII of the Recopilación.

Eleanor B. Adams and Angélico Chávez have given us the most complete statement in print of the founding of Albuquerque:<sup>8</sup>

During the seventeenth century and after the Reconquest until 1706, the general area of Albuquerque was variously called "Bosque Grande," "Bosque Grande de Doña Luisa," "Estancia de Doña Luisa de Trujillo," and "Bosque Grande de San Francisco Xavier." This Bosque extended from the southern limits of Alameda pueblo lands south to the swamps of Mexía, and the original limits of Albuquerque were set within this general area from the lands of Elena Gallegos on the north to the swamps, also called "of Pedro López," to the south.

The official contemporary documents concerning the founding of Albuquerque state that there were thirty-five families, with 252 persons, including adults and children. The early baptismal records indicate a population of at least this size. On the basis of the *Noticias* of Juan de Candalaria (*New Mexico Historical Review* 4 (1929): 274-97), written some seventy years later when he was in his eighties, it is usually assumed that the Villa of Albuquerque was founded with twelve families and soldiers from Bernalillo. It is undoubtedly true that some of the first citizens of the Villa of Albuquerque came from Bernalillo, but more came from other districts. Both the Albuquerque and Bernalillo areas had Spanish settlers before 1680 and after the Reconquest.

The Adams and Chávez synthesis of known documentary sources on Albuquerque is borne out by the corroborative documents in the Mexican archive—sources which some scholars

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8. Eleanor B. Adams and Angélico Chávez. *The Missions of New Mexico, 1776. A Description by Fray Atanasio Domínguez with other Contemporary Documents* (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1956), 145, n 1.

have known for years but which, until the Albuquerque water litigations, have not been examined in detail.

### *Part Two*

The history of Albuquerque in 1706, as we know it today, comes from letters and other official documents of the colonial New Mexican government contained in the Mexican Archivo General de la Nación in the Ramo de Provincias Internas legajo 36.<sup>9</sup> These manuscripts date from February 23, 1706, to July 25, 1706, and yield considerable data on the founding of the City.

The earliest of the sources is a letter of the Cabildo of Santa Fe to the Council of the Indies, signed in Santa Fe on February 23, 1706, which praised the services of Governor Francisco Cuervo y Valdéz since his assumption of the governorship on March 10, 1705. Cuervo's farsighted policy in pacification and resettlement of Indians was given prominent mention by the Cabildo as well as his salutary economic policies which had resulted in good harvests of grain. The Cabildo then reported that Cuervo had authorized volunteer families from the province to "go and settle in the great forest of Doña Luisa, located on the banks of the Rio del Norte twenty-two leagues away from this Villa (Santa Fe) . . ." as had been decided in 1698. After some families announced their intention to participate in the new settlement, Governor Cuervo ordered Juan de Ulibarrí, the Procurador and Rexidor of the Kingdom, to explore the site and determine its suitability. Ulibarrí reported that the Bosque was a

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9. AGN, Provincias Internas, legajo 36 has been paginated several times. The old ramo 5 cited by Bloom in 1935 has been re-arranged into expedientes. The entire legajo has New Mexico documents, including many that allude to Albuquerque, other than the ones cited in this article. Copies of many of the letters and reports also are found in Sevilla in AGI, Guadalajara 116. Other copies are found in the manuscript collection of Mexico City's Museo Nacional, 2da serie, legajo 59, exps. 6-12. Even though this essay will use the new citations to AGN, Provincias Internas, legajo 36, researchers may prefer to use only the folio references which still remain the same as they were in the 1930's. The new expedientes have been designated thusly: expediente 4, 353-379; expediente 5, 380-419; expediente 6, 420-425; expediente 7, 426-461; expediente 8, 462-476; and so forth.

very good place for a new villa and the Governor ordered that the settlement proceed. He gave the colonists an escort of a squad of ten soldiers and he empowered the capitan of the squad as justicia mayor and capitan de guerra of the area. Finally the Cabildo reported: ". . . (and so) this place was peopled again, which he (Cuervo) called the Villa de Alburquerque, and gave it as a patron saint the Apostle of the Indies San Francisco Xavier . . ." <sup>10</sup>

On April 16, 1706, the first notice of the founding of Albuquerque by the church was made. Fray Juan Alvarez, O. F. M., Commissary of the Holy Office of the Inquisition, Custodian and Ecclesiastical Judge Ordinary of the Province of New Mexico, wrote to the Viceroy about conditions in his jurisdiction.<sup>11</sup> Alvarez recounted the depredations of the Apache on the ranches and settlements of the province and their raids on settlements of Christian Indians. He went on to describe the Governor's deployment of troops to guard New Mexico against these attacks in the neighborhood of Cochití, Santo Domingo, San Felipe, Santa Ana, Zia and Jemez, and finally Albuquerque:

Another squad is being kept (for greater security) in the new town established by the said governor and capitan general in the bosque of Doña Luisa, on the Rio Abajo, called the Villa of Albuquerque, and giving it as patron Saint Francis Xavier. Its inhabitants have (now) the best cattle and are increasing their farming lands, each one in his place. The first place was assigned to the church and the convent, and a decent church has been built to be attended by the religious

10. AGN, Prov. Inter., leg. 36, exped. 7, 456rv-461r.

11. AGN, Prov. Inter., leg. 36, exped. 7, 455r. Fray Juan Alvarez alluded to the founding of Albuquerque in an earlier dispatch which indicated that the settlement had begun in early January 1706 (perhaps December of 1705). In a report on the New Mexico missions dated at Nambé January 12, 1706 he concludes:

It remains to add that there have gone out two squadrons of soldiers for the new settlements which Governor . . . Don Francisco Cuervo y Valdéz is making. One of the settlements is of Thanos Indians in the pueblo of Galisteo, and the other is of Spanish settlers in El Bosque de Doña Luisa, down the River.

The report is from AGI, Guadalajara 116 as is published in C. W. Hackett, ed., *Historical Documents Relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and Approaches Thereto, to 1773. Collected by Adolph F. A. Bandelier and Fanny R. Bandelier*, 3 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1923-1937), III, 378.

man that the King our lord will grant for administering the Holy Sacraments. . . .

A letter of April 17, 1709, was presented to Governor Cuervo and forwarded to the Viceroy in which the Cabildo of Santa Fe requested better pay (and back pay) for soldiers who were to guard the proposed new settlements down river from the Villa of Albuquerque.<sup>12</sup> In this letter reference was made to a certified document sent on February 23, 1706, concerning the founding of the new towns as well as a report on the progress of Albuquerque:

. . . (and also) (we report) the growth and improvement which the new towns are making each day, especially the Villa de Alburquerque and its jurisdiction. So much progress has been made that we have evidence that many of the inhabitants of the other jurisdictions are ready to come and settle in these sites, houses and haciendas which are ruined on the meadows of the Rio del Norte below the said Villa de Alburquerque, on both banks, because of their fertility, and availability of lands, waters, pastures and woods, as well as for the security given them by the squad of soldiers that Your Lordship has given them.

Two important letters of Governor Cuervo y Valdéz were written on April 24, 1706, certifying to the founding of Albuquerque. In the first of these the governor gave notice to the Viceroy of the establishment of the towns of Albuquerque and Santa María de Gracia de Galisteo and requested him "to order the royal officials to furnish money for the bells, ornaments, missals, images and other jewels which are necessary for the celebration and ornamentation of the divine cult, alms which his Majesty (May God save him) has granted for the first time to new churches of new towns."<sup>13</sup> Along with the request for church equipment Cuervo sent a formal letter of certification of the founding of Albuquerque and Galisteo, dated in Santa Fe on April 24, 1706. This document was published by Lansing Bloom

12. AGN, Prov. Inter., leg. 36, exped. 5, 416rv-418r.

13. AGN, Prov. Inter., leg. 36, exped. 7, 454rv.

in 1935.<sup>14</sup> In order to make this essay complete the Bloom translation will be quoted here:

(I) Don Francisco Cuerdo y Valdez, Caballero of the Order of Santiago, Governor and Capitan General of this Kingdom and (the) Provinces of New Mexico, and Castellan of his forces and Presidios for H(is) M(ajesty) etc.

Certify to His Majesty (whom may God guard for many years), to his Viceroy, Presidents, Governors, and other Officials:

That I founded a Villa on the margins and meadows of the Rio del Norte in a goodly place of fields, waters, pasturage, and timber, distant from this Villa of Santa Fe about twenty-two leagues, giving to it as titular Patron the most glorious Apostle of the Indies San Francisco Xavier, calling it and naming it the Villa of Alburquerque (I located it) in a good site, keeping in mind what is prescribed by His Majesty in his Royal Laws of the Recopilación, Book IV, Title VII, and there are now thirty-five families settled there, comprising 252 persons, large and small. The Church (is already) completed, capacious and appropriate, with part of the dwelling for the Religious Minister, the Royal Houses (are) begun, and the other houses of the settlers finished with their corrals, acequias ditched and running, fields (already) sowed—all well arranged and without any expense to the Royal Treasury.

On June 22, 1706, the Viceroy-Duke of Alburquerque referred these letters to his attorney, Dr. José Antonio de Espinosa, who took action of the request for Church ornaments on July 25, 1706.<sup>15</sup>

Governor Cuervo made a longer report to the Viceroy recounting the founding of Albuquerque from Santa Fe on April 26, 1706.<sup>16</sup> After a discussion of his Indian policies the Governor proceeded to the subject of the newly-founded Villa:

And so enjoying this peace and happy time offered by the truces, as well as (enjoying) the experience which I have acquired in this kingdom, wishing that it were more ex-

14. Bloom, *op. cit.*, 48-50.

15. AGN, Prov. Inter., leg. 36, expd. 454r.

16. AGN, Prov. Inter., leg. 36, expd. 8, 463rv-468rv.

tended, I ordered that one of the best sites of the Rio del Norte be peopled, below the post of Bernalillo and Alameda. This (place) was inspected by the said general Juan de Ulbarrí, sargento mayor, procurador general, and rexidor of this kingdom. He found it to be the most fitting and convenient (of all places) for the establishment of people and a new villa. Having publicized it, many families of the other jurisdictions offered themselves to go (there) taking at least some large and small cattle. For their security I decided that a group of ten soldiers of this presidio should go in a squad (with their families) to escort and guard them, because (the place) is in the main frontier of the barbarous nations of the Chilmos, Jilas, and the said Faraones. The command of the troop was given to a commander with full military experience. I do not doubt, very excellent lord, that in a short time this will be the most prosperous Villa for its growth of cattle and abundance of grains, because of its great fertility and for having given it, in spiritual and temporal things, the patron saints that I have chosen, namely the very glorious apstole of the Indies, San Francisco Xavier, and Your Excellency, with whose names the town has been entitled Villa de Alburquerque de San Francisco Xavier del Bosque. The Villa was sworn, taking into account the things ordered by his Majesty in his royal laws of the seventh title, fourth book of the Recopilación. There have been settled thirty-five families and within them two hundred and fifty-two persons. The church has been finished and is quite large. Also part of the dwelling of the religious minister (has been finished) and also the other houses of the inhabitants, with their corrals and irrigation ditches flowing. Everything has been done with good will and to the liking, relief and convenience of the said inhabitants.

This report of Governor Francisco Cuervo y Valdéz was forwarded by the Viceroy to his attorney for study. On July 25, Dr. Espinosa added several half-pages of marginalia to the Cuervo report. One item seems particularly appropriate to quote in light of the 1959-1962 litigations:

In the fourth place, the governor reports that he has resettled the Villa of Galisteo with the inhabitants who used to people it and who were scattered in several parts due to the hostilities of the rebel enemies; and likewise he says he founded

a villa which he called Alburquerque, which lacks a bell, ornament, chalice, vinegar-cruets and albas. And although before founding it, he should have consulted Your Excellency, however, since it is already founded, and since it is evident from the autos, that he has been successful in the government, (his action) can be permitted and orders can be given so that he may be helped with the ornaments and other things which the royal law grants once to the new towns, and orders (can be given to) the said governor not to build any other town.

On July 28, 1706, three days later, Dr. Espinosa's recommendations were considered by a Junta appointed by the Viceroy. The committee reviewed all of Governor Cuervo's reports of April 1706 along with Fray Juan Alvarez' letters, and correspondence from the Cabildo of Santa Fe. Together with other matters (soldiers salaries and Indian policy primarily) the Junta made decisions about Cuervo's founding of the new Villa de San Francisco Xavier de Alburquerque. It was unanimously agreed that the equipment requested for the Albuquerque church be appropriated in accordance with royal precedent. It was in this committee that the order was given to change the name of the new Villa to San Felipe de Alburquerque because of a royal decree ordering that a new población be founded in name of the patron saint of King Philip V.<sup>17</sup> Although they do not contain the detail or legal significance of the foregoing letters and reports, several other documents of the months April through June of 1706 allude to the founding of the Villa de Alburquerque. For instance, on April 28, 1706, Governor Cuervo reviewed the Albuquerque and Galisteo establishments for the Viceroy and detailed the need for re-establishing the old site of Socorro in order to contain the Apache menace and keep the

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17. The Albuquerque Brief, 5, incorporates this entire document as exhibit 13: "Testimonio del mandamiento del Virrey Duque de Alburquerque sobre la fundición de la Villa de Alburquerque, 1706" taken from "The Bandelier Collection of Copies of Documents Relative to the History of New Mexico and Arizona," in *House Executive Documents*, 3d sess., 53d Cong., 1894-95, serial no. 3322, p. 313. There is a paraphrase of the document in C. W. Hackett, ed., *Historical Documents Relating to New Mexico*, III, 380. Adams and Chávez, *op. cit.*, 146, n. 3, give full treatment to the name change and the subsequent confusion over use of San Francisco as opposed to San Felipe de Alburquerque.

sedentary pueblos in line.<sup>18</sup> Fray Juan Alvarez once again commented on the happy condition of the Spaniards "settled in the Nueva Villa de Alburquerque" in a letter to the Viceroy on June 5, 1706.<sup>19</sup> A letter of June 18, 1706, from the Cabildo of Santa Fe to the King and Council of the Indies indicated that General Juan de Ulibarrí had escorted scattered inhabitants to the site of Santa María de Grado, where he gave them "Royal Possession", and the letter continued with reports on Galisteo and the Villa de Alburquerque, "where its inhabitants have achieved this year the most successful birth of cattle since they entered this Kingdom."<sup>20</sup>

Finally, among the Provincias Internas group of Alburquerque documents, there is a letter dealing with Spanish-Indian relations signed by Martín Hurtado, Alcalde Mayor and Capitan de Guerra of Albuquerque dated June 19, 1706,<sup>21</sup> and accompanied by a letter of transmittal to Governor Cuervo signed on June 20.<sup>22</sup> These two documents were forwarded to the Viceroy by Cuervo with a second letter of transmittal issued in Santa Fe on June 22, 1706.<sup>23</sup> Alcalde Hurtado recounted in his letter the arrival of an Apache in Albuquerque who told the settlers of a vision that the Indians in the Sandia mountains had, a vision in which they were encouraged to accept Spanish authority and to trade with the Spaniards. The letters also describe the flourishing Apache-Spaniard barter trade going on at the time:<sup>24</sup>

Sir: The letter and enclosed certified documents tell of the news given to me by capitan Martín Hurtado, alcalde mayor and capitan aguerra of the Villa of Alburquerque and its jurisdiction. He has also been given other news concerning the good state and progress of the said Villa and its inhabit-

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18. AGN, Prov. Inter., leg. 36, exped. 5, 395rv-397rv.

19. AGN, Prov. Inter., leg. 36, exped. 5, 391rv.

20. AGN, Prov. Inter., leg. 36, exped. 5, 392rv-393rv.

21. AGN, Prov. Inter., leg. 36, exped. 5, 400rv.

22. AGN, Prov. Inter., leg. 36, exped. 5, 398rv.

23. AGN, Prov. Inter., leg. 36, exped. 5, 399r.

24. AGN, Prov. Inter., leg. 36, exped. 5, 401r.



ants, and the peaceful visits made by the pagan Indians of the faraon apache nation. (The apaches) have constantly come to trade and barter with the Spanish inhabitants of the said Villa of Alburquerque and the christian Indians of the mountain passes and towns of this district and jurisdiction.

Of course these contemporary accounts of Albuquerque from January to June of 1706, were no substitute for the instrument of founding as far as the courts were concerned. However, as corrobative evidence of the City's founding they were highly useful and quite illuminating.

### *Part Three*

The Albuquerque brief correctly stated and offered adequate proof that there was "ample evidence to support the presumption of an actual grant, which during the more than 250 years since its issuance has been lost or destroyed."<sup>25</sup> Furthermore, the foregoing documents state clearly that the Villa de Alburquerque was founded according to the procedures outlined in Book IV Title VII of the Recopilación. Even though Bloom indicates that the Hurtado documents of the 1720's point to the fact that there was a charter, it is quite possible that no specific *merced* was issued by Governor Cuervo or his agent Juan de Ulibarrí. On the other hand, when Cuervo stated in his report that Ulibarrí had taken the new settlers to the Albuquerque area and given them possession, this assertion plus the following description of the ceremony of investiture certainly clinches the argument that a Spanish colonial pueblo was duly founded: "The Villa was sworn, taking into account the things ordered by his Majesty in his royal laws of the seventh title, fourth book of the Recopilación."<sup>26</sup>

It appeared that on August 11, 1960, the City of Albuquerque had won its case with this line of historical and legal argumentation, for on that day the District Court

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25. The Albuquerque Brief, 6.

26. *Supra*, note 16.

of Bernalillo County upheld the pueblo water rights doctrine in the Albuquerque litigation.<sup>27</sup> However, the State Engineer appealed the decision to the New Mexico Supreme Court, which reversed the district court's ruling on December 14, 1962.<sup>28</sup> The Supreme Court's deliberations led that body to conclude, as Professor Clark had opined earlier,<sup>29</sup> that the City of Albuquerque could not base its claims to unrestricted use of water on the pueblo rights doctrine, and that the historical evidence presented in the case was not germane:

We therefore hold that all of the findings of fact and conclusions of law of the district court, relating to the Pueblo of San Felipe de Alburquerque and the claimed pueblo water rights, should be stricken as not being within the issues properly before the court, and that the judgment of the district court, insofar as it is based upon such findings and conclusions, should be reversed.

In commenting on the City's use of the pueblo water rights doctrine to substantiate its claims, the Supreme Court implied that other valid legal arguments should have been employed:

As to the argument of the city that no other legal avenue is open to it by which this claimed right can be adjudicated, we are wholly unresponsive. We will not in this opinion attempt to outline the way, but one will no doubt be found should the city continue its claim of prior and paramount right to the use of all of the water of the Rio Grande Stream and Under-ground Basin to the extent necessary to supply its inhabitants.

Despite the decision of the New Mexico Supreme Court and any future litigation of the City of Albuquerque to press its claim to water rights, the historical and legal issues raised by the City in this case have generated an enormous amount of interest in Albuquerque's historical past and its

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27. *The City of Albuquerque vs. The State Engineer of New Mexico* (August 11, 1960) District Court of Bernalillo County, No. 70800.

28. *City of Albuquerque, New Mexico vs. S. E. Reynolds, State Engineer of New Mexico* (Dec. 14, 1962) The Supreme Court of the State of New Mexico, No. 7013.

29. Clark, *op. cit.*, 278-279, 281 *et passim*.

proud tradition as successor to the Spanish colonial Villa de San Felipe de Alburquerque. This writer would be overjoyed to learn that some archivist had found the *instrumento de fundición* at long last.

## THE TERRITORIES OF ARIZONA

*By* ADLAI FEATHER\*

WHEN President Lincoln affixed his signature to the document which separated the Territory of Arizona from New Mexico on February 24, 1863, he brought to a close nine years of intense effort which had been directed toward the organization of a new governmental unit to be called by that name. But the end result had little in common with the ideas of the originators. The most obvious difference was geographical. As first proposed, the Territory would have been divided by an east-west line. Though this would have been troublesome to cartographers, it was a natural division based upon social, economic and historical considerations. As finally approved, the Territories were divided by the same north-south line which exists at present and which was arranged to suit the convenience of the moment. The New Mexico Legislature favored it, hoping that the troublesome Navahos could be pushed westward over the line and entirely out of their sphere. General James H. Carleton, then in command of the military district of New Mexico, favored it because communication between the units which he commanded was not difficult by the roads which followed the Rio Grande. Since he was now obtaining supplies by the Santa Fe Trail, the movement of troops and supplies to the western areas presented a problem which he was quite willing to surrender to the military authorities in California.

The people resident in Arizona Territory, regardless of its shape or location, were poorly represented and had little or no voice in the arrangement of boundaries. As far as is known, there was present only Charles Poston, manager of a mining company at Tubac, and Major Heintzelman, President of the same company, who had been in Arizona for a time as active Superintendent. Neither of these were greatly concerned about boundaries, but were eager to have the

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\* Mesilla Park, New Mexico.

capitol and its protective garrison established as near as possible to their properties, preferably at Tucson.

The most impressive argument for immediate Territorial status was built around the report of recently discovered gold placers. The claim was made that the rich workings would soon relieve the acute shortage of gold if protection were afforded against the Apaches. Actually, the reports were highly over-enthusiastic.<sup>1</sup> The principal objection to the bill was directed at the small number of inhabitants—6,500 voters were claimed which was a highly inflated estimate.

When it appeared likely that Congress would end without action, recourse was had to political strategy. In the recent elections, many of the members of Congress had lost their seats and were on the lookout for appointments. It was pointed out to these individuals that the passage of the bill would open up numerous offices which could be filled by themselves and their supporters. This argument proved irresistible. The bill was rushed to a favorable vote and signed by the President only a few days before the Congress expired on March 1.<sup>2</sup> The inducement of gold fields backfired. The provision which would have designated Tucson as the capital was removed from the bill, probably because it was too remote from the center of interest.

Actually, in 1863, there were two Territories of Arizona, alike in name but geographically only overlapping. Which was to survive depended upon the outcome of the Civil War, then in a most indecisive state. True, the Confederate forces had been forced to withdraw completely from the region, accompanied by most of those who had been the leaders in the formation of the Confederate Territory of Arizona. Had the South prevailed in the war, the boundaries would certainly have entered a most fluid state. Perhaps Baylor's Confeder-

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1. Placer gold had been discovered both in the bed of the Gila River and at a dry location thirty miles east of Yuma. Neither site ever yielded any great values. However, the public imagination had been so exhilarated by reports from the California gold fields and to even a higher degree by those which described the San Francisco and Cienaguilla fields, on the Mexican side of the border, as areas "where men picked up nuggets as chickens peck up corn" that the very word "placer" suggested infinite amounts of gold.

2. Farish, Thomas Edwin; *History of Arizona*, Vol. 2, pp. 323-324.

ate Territory would have been restored. Perhaps Texas would have re-asserted the old claim to all of New Mexico east of the Rio Grande. This latter arrangement would certainly have met with the approval of the citizens of El Paso and would possibly have been welcomed in the Mesilla Valley. Later, in 1867, a petition was circulated in the two communities praying that the counties of Doña Ana and El Paso be joined to form Franklin County, Texas.<sup>3</sup>

After Colonel John Baylor had forced the withdrawal of the Union forces from the Mesilla Valley and the country south of the Gila had been evacuated by them, he created, on August 1, 1861, the Confederate Territory of Arizona. He was, in this act, confronted by no organizational problems. A group of citizens had already formed a provisional government, named the necessary officials and considered themselves competent to serve as spokesmen for the entire population. It even possessed a small but efficient militia. Before he had entered the area, these leaders had called a convention in which they had declared themselves in favor of the Confederacy and had encountered no opposition to this course of action. They had already earned the title of Secessionists; not from the Union but from New Mexico.

Though their formal declaration of independence from that Territory had been made only a little more than a year before, the movement toward that end had been begun no less than six years previously. It had been first undertaken almost single-handedly by James Lucas, a citizen of Las Cruces and later of Mesilla, who not only conceived the idea but assumed the leadership thereafter in pressing for Territorial status for Doña Ana county which then included all of the lands contained in the Gadsden Treaty. Some of his early efforts (and one of the later proposals launched in the same

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3. Similar proposals had been advanced by El Paso citizens since 1860. This effort was a mere continuation of the policy formerly adopted by Paso del Norte, Mexico. At the time, it seemed that the future of the town depended upon agriculture and mining both of which were more promising in Doña Ana County than in that part of Texas in which El Paso was situated. All of these projects were vague concerning the ultimate political status of the united counties as none reached a point where formal presentation to Congress could be considered warranted.

general direction) are outlined in a letter written to the editor of the Mesilla Valley Democrat of Las Cruces and published in that newspaper on September 7, 1889.<sup>4</sup>

Silver City, New Mexico  
Editor Mesilla Valley Democrat.

Thinking that some reminiscences of occurrences which transpired thirty years ago would be of interest to your numerous readers, and particularly so to some of them as have come to the country since that time, I will give them some idea of what was going on here then. In the year 1854, the writer represented Dona Ana County in the legislature of New Mexico, which county comprised all of the country lying between the western line of Texas and the eastern boundary of the state of California, from the Pecos River to the Colorado of the West, about eight hundred miles from east to west and from a hundred and fifty to two hundred miles from south to north. This immense scope of territory which for about three hundred years previous to that time had belonged to Old Mexico and was under the jurisdiction of the states of Chihuahua and Sonora had, after its aggregation to the

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4. James A. Lucas was a member of a politically-minded family in Missouri; bitter enemies of Thomas Benton, self-constituted spokesman for the Territorial Government of New Mexico. Senator Benton had, in fact, killed Charles Lucas in a duel. James Lucas first came to New Mexico as a member of General Stephen Watts Kearny's Missouri Volunteers, being then nineteen years of age. At Santa Fe, he served as clerk in the drafting of the code of laws which Kearny put into effect. As a member of Major Gilpin's battalion, he took part in a campaign against the Navahos, fought in the battle of Brazito and was present at the capture of Chihuahua.

At the close of hostilities, he remained in the Southwest as clerk to his brother, John Lucas, who was vice consul at Paso del Norte and later held that office in his own right for a short time. Sometime in 1853, he established himself in Las Cruces as a merchant and dramshop owner. In the village election held on October 18, 1853, the first held in newly-established Doña Ana County, he was chosen Justice of the Peace. In May of 1854, he was permitted to practice before the District Court "en gratia" when the only attorney present was recalled to El Paso by personal matters. In March, he had been appointed clerk of the probate court and in September was elected first representative of Doña Ana County to the state Legislative Assembly.

Returning to Las Cruces after the legislative session, he again assumed the office of probate clerk. When the county seat was removed from Las Cruces to Mesilla in order to avoid the epidemic of malaria which decimated the population of the former town, Lucas also transferred his business and residence. Though still licenced as owner of a store and dramshop, he performed the duties of probate clerk only at intervals, often acting as a legal adviser, representing clients in the Probate and Justice courts, drawing up wills, deeds, contracts and other documents. He was not formally admitted to the bar.

In 1862, he withdrew to Texas with the retreating Confederate army, serving for a time as collector of customs at Del Rio and afterward in other civil offices. At the close of the war, he fixed his residence in Missouri in order to give his children the benefit of an education in an English-speaking school. He did not return to New Mexico until 1875

United States by the treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, been attached to New Mexico. The session of the legislature was, I believe, the third after the organization of the territory. We introduced a memorial to Congress asking for a separate territorial government proposing the name of "Pimeria" (pronounced Pemia)<sup>5</sup> which name we found on an old Spanish map in the archives of Santa Fe, of the country immediately north and south of the Gila. Don Manuel Alvarez, the former U.S. consul representing our government in Santa Fe for several years previous to the aggregation of this part of the

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when he settled at a point on the Mimbres nearest the mining town of Georgetown, in Grant County, where he constructed a grist and flouring mill. He immediately began to take an active part in Democratic Party politics and wrote bitter denunciations of New Mexico legislative matters in general and Republican leadership in particular. In 1894, the silver controversy caused a complete turnover in Grant County public offices and Lucas was elected Superintendent of Schools. With the expiration of his term of office, he joined his sons in the cattle ranching business. He died on Thanksgiving Day.

Never an eloquent public speaker he depended upon his pen as a means of persuasion and often became vitriolic, especially when referring to "Black Republicans." In 1894, he acquired considerable fame as the author of a poem which was reprinted in many of the leading newspapers of the state—its popularity due more to its timeliness than to its literary merit.

A short time since, the cow was sad.  
 She scarce could raise her head, begad.  
 Her hoofs were sore, her tail was limp,  
 Her mane and bangs had lost their crimp  
 And miles she trudged for grass and drink  
 With scarcely strength enough to wink.  
 Her owner, too, seemed blue and glum  
 And cussed the cattle business some.

But, since the grass is green and tall,  
 The cow can raise her head and bawl.  
 Her hide is slick, no bones protrude.  
 She prances like a Tucson dude.  
 Her tail's erect, her eyes are bright.  
 She snorts and dares the herd to fight.  
 Her owner, too, digs up the chink  
 And asks the boys to have a drink.

God bless the rain, the gentle rain.  
 It makes a man feel young again.  
 He feels like tossing up his hat  
 And howling like a Democrat.

The political implication in the final line arises from the fact that Lucas, together with almost all of the county ticket, had been swept into office in a Democratic landslide after a bitter campaign fought over the question of the demonitization of silver.

5. This peculiar mis-pronunciation of the vowel (i) before the consonants (m and n) was apparently common at the time. The name of the well-known gunman and cattle thief, John Kinney, appeared as "Kenny" in newspapers for several years.



country to the United States, proposed the name of "Cibolo" for our proposed new Territory but we preferred the name of "Pimeria" which was adopted at the time. I will here state that I was indebted to Wm Claude Jones, an attorney at law from Missouri and a man of very considerable talent who was residing in Santa Fe, as well as Don Manuel Alvarez for valuable services rendered by them in getting up the memorial. But it was no use; the members from the upper portion of the state would not hear of it and tabled my pet memorial rather unceremoniously.

The next step taken by the people of southern New Mexico to obtain a separate organization was in May, 1858.<sup>6</sup> The people of southern New Mexico held meetings in the various towns and settlements and elected delegates to a convention to be held in Tucson for the purpose of organizing a provisional government for this part of the country and the name then proposed for the new Territory was "Arizona", being the name of a mountain situated in the southwest corner of the Territory. The said convention met at Tucson on the \_\_\_\_\_ day of May of that year and proceeded to organize by electing Mr. J. A. Lucas, then of La Mesilla, president and Granville M. Oury of Tucson (I think) as secretary. The convention sat for three or four days and proceeded to organize thoroughly a provisional government for the Territory of Arizona by the election of L. C. Owens (sic) as governor, J. A. Lucas as secretary of the Territory, three district judges, district attorneys etc. Sylvester Mowery, formerly a lieutenant in the U.S. Army, was elected as delegate to represent us at Washington and to urge recognition of our Territorial organization at once by Congress. So you will see, we were in for it then. We had cut loose from New Mexico who then, as now, entertained no feelings or opinions in common with us and we had set up for ourselves. We were, in short, paddling our own canoe. We were not much afraid of coercion or being whipped back into the Territory as they had no standing army or money to raise one and besides we were so remote from their old seat of government that it would have required the will and energy of a Cromwell to have accompanied anything in this line. For the next two years succeeding, we

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6. Lucas is in error concerning the date. A meeting held in Tucson in 1858 chose Sylvester Mowery as delegate to Congress but little is known of any further activities. The provisional government was set up in April, 1860. Dr. Lewis S. Owings could not have been elected governor in 1858 as he did not enter the Territory until the following year.

worked hard for our delegate. Mowery did everything in his power to persuade Congress to give us the much desired territorial organization but down to the year 1861, when the whole country had merged into Civil War, we had failed in obtaining same but in the meantime we had held out with our provisional organization manfully against New Mexico, ignoring that Territory entirely.

In 1861, Colonel John R Baylor, who commanded a battalion of Texas troops, came up and captured Fort Fillmore and he was made or rather made himself military governor of Arizona and the writer was continued as secretary of the Territory of Arizona and a year or so afterward the present Territory was organized by Congress, dividing the Territory of New Mexico by a line running north and south.

The proceedings of the convention held in Tucson as above mentioned were published in a small pamphlet at the time and I have no doubt that a copy of same may be found in the possession of some of the old residents in Tucson or vicinity.

The facts above set forth prove clearly that this portion of the country which was acquired by the treaty above mentioned has always been separate and distinct from New Mexico and belonged to other jurisdictions, civil as well as military, and it was simply attached to New Mexico for the sake of convenience at the time. The people here have always adhered to this, in fact they have at all times since their aggregation to that Territory done everything in their power to bring about a severance of their relations therewith. We have never from the first entertained any good feelings or opinions in common with each other. That Territory has at all times failed to grant us the rights to which we were entitled. They have allowed us one representative when we were entitled to two. This part of the country has always been ignored and neglected by the people of the northern portion of New Mexico and we cannot be blamed for fighting for separation from them. And now we are still trying to cut loose and more than ever now that the forty-year-old Territory wants to become a state. We would like more than ever to get out of her clutches, away from the old ring rule and the ringsters that have domineered and trampled under foot the dearest rights of our people. Yes, we want to cut loose and organize a separate territorial government, this time to be called not Pimeria nor Arizona but Sierra. We don't want to go into statehood, as desirable as it may be, under other circumstances and

conditions. Under this old fossil the moss has grown too long and too thick. We have been stuck on to it too long and we have determined to make a third attempt to sever our political connections with her.<sup>7</sup> Of course, she will fight hard to prevent us from effecting our purpose but in that event we will not be true to our own interests if we do not do all we can to defeat their state movement; if they will give us Sierra, they may take their state if the majority of the people want it. We acknowledge that we do not want a state with the present boundaries of the Territory. So I hope that our people will not let up until we have gained our desire—the organization of the state of Sierra.

James A. Lucas

Lucas is substantially correct in his statement that neither the lands which he proposed to incorporate into his new Territory nor its inhabitants had ever been under the jurisdiction of New Mexico. That Territory did have a legal but unenforced claim to a strip of land lying between the Jornada del Muerto and a point nine miles north of El Paso through which an east-west line had been drawn in 1824. The people of El Paso ignored this boundary, claimed the land in dispute for themselves and freely exploited its natural resources.<sup>8</sup> Only a few settlers had migrated south into the Mesilla Valley after 1848 and they were overwhelmed in the crowds which surged across the border from Mexico; among these were many who were neither Mexican nor Spanish born.<sup>9</sup> Few of the Americans who mingled with them had ever seen Santa Fe. In declaring themselves in

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7. The first attempt was undoubtedly that which culminated in the establishment of a provisional government. The second may have been either the short-lived Confederate Territory of Arizona or the attempt made in 1876 to move Grant County from the jurisdiction of New Mexico to that of Arizona.

8. The government of the Department of New Mexico protested the cutting of wood in the Soledad (Organ) Mountains and the granting of land to settlers at Doña Ana. In both cases, they were upheld by the national government, a decision ignored by the people of El Paso. Salt was also obtained from the fields near Cerro Redondo east of the San Andres Mountains but this remote operation seems to have been unnoticed.

9. A majority of the merchants in the Mesilla Valley before the Civil War were citizens of France, Spain, Peru and Germany though some had previously become Mexican citizens in order to comply with the laws of that country concerning merchandising. Their status as aliens proved of advantage during hostilities as they were not molested by either army since both warring governments courted international favor.

favor of separation from New Mexico, few were violating any former allegiance.

Since no bonds of history, tradition or kinship united the two sections of New Mexico, it may be easily understood why separatist sentiment was practically unanimous in the lower Rio Grande Valley and throughout Doña Ana County. Santa Fe was far too remote to encourage understanding between the two communities. Except for California, the new acquisitions from Mexico were not held in high esteem and the statement was often made publicly that the region was arid and worthless. Consequently, Congress acted most niggardly in providing for its defense and administration. Both the military aid and maintenance funds were inadequate; it was natural, then, that those available should be used in the vicinity of the capital. Territorial status would give Mesilla direct communication with Congress and the administrative offices in Washington and perhaps the consideration and benefits enjoyed by Santa Fe.

With no local opposition to his plan, the major problem which confronted Lucas was that of obtaining the necessary action in Congress. Men with political influence were essential for the accomplishment of this purpose and none except Lucas himself were resident in Doña Ana County in 1855. The first newcomer who possessed the qualification was the same Wm. Claude Jones who had given material aid in the preparation of the memorial in Santa Fe. Appointed United States attorney, he took up his residence in Mesilla and was soon followed by his brother, Samuel Jones, also an attorney, who had been appointed Collector of Customs.<sup>10</sup> In the summer of 1856, a party of men interested in mining, headed by Samuel Poston, passed through Mesilla en route for Tucson. It is possible that Granville Oury was a member of this party; if so, it was a most fortuitous meeting for Oury, a roving character, who became an outstanding champ-

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10. W. Claude Jones, a fluent and ever-ready speaker, was extremely voluble in behalf of both the independent Territory of Arizona and the Confederate States of America. As long as any of his former acquaintances remained alive, he was usually mentioned as "That unregenerate Southerner."

ion of the cause. At about the same time, the name of "Arizona" was first heard.

Though the movement continued to gain able adherents, none were in a position to represent the proposed Territory in Washington, and it was not until 1857 that a man was found who could accept that responsibility. Lieutenant Sylvester Mowery, resigned from the United States Army and anxious to seek his fortune in the Southwest, selected and purchased several promising mining locations and undertook to raise money for their development in the East.<sup>11</sup> Since the promotion required his presence near Washington, he was able to spend considerable time there during sessions of Congress. Through his efforts, a bill was introduced in 1857 and in the two succeeding years, none of which were approved by both the House of Representatives and the Senate. Though it was conceded that the bills possessed merit, they became submerged in issues considered more weighty. The main opposition came from those members who feared that, once Territorial status were obtained, the next step would be a petition for admission as a slave state.

In 1859, after the first stages of the Overland Mail Line had been put into operation, Mesilla received an influx of promoters, some of whom were capitalists. Within a few months, the town began to enjoy enormous prosperity. Steam sawmills replaced the old whipsaw frames: steam flouring mills doubled the capacity of those driven by water power. A newspaper was established and well-financed mercantile establishments sought and obtained contracts which the entire community could not have financed a year previously. Money was available for any promising enterprise.

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11. Lieutenant Mowery is most often remembered in New Mexico history in connection with the material used in the promotion of Mowery City (now called Old Mimbres) which depicts multi-storied buildings and steamboats tied to docks beside the Mimbres River. The ridicule directed against these fanciful illustrations is unfair to Lieutenant Mowery. At the time of issuance these extravaganzas were recognized as mere engraver's license in embellishment. They were, in fact, comparatively modest in comparison with the imaginative ornamentation which accompanied the advertisements used in the promotion of the San Pedro and Shakespeare mines in Santa Fe and Hidalgo Counties.

More than two hundred men found employment in the copper mines of Santa Rita and Hanover.

Many of these new-comers were men of action and, impatient of the delay in Washington, took matters into their own hands, and a convention was called for the purpose of forming a provisional government which would act until such time as recognition should be obtained. The purpose of the move was "to force recognition of the Territory by Congress"; the procedures by which this was to be realized are nowhere stated. The convention was held in Tucson April 2-5, 1860, with 31 delegates present representing every community in Doña Ana County from the Organ Mountains to the Colorado River.<sup>12</sup> Lucas was named chairman and Granville Oury served as secretary. A provisional constitution was adopted and Dr. Lewis S. Owings of Mesilla was elected Provisional Governor with the privilege of appointing the remainder of the officials who would serve with him.<sup>13</sup>

12. Towns represented were Mesilla, Santa Rita, Las Cruces, Doña Ana, Santo Tomás, Picacho and Amoles; all presently in New Mexico except Amoles which was washed away by the Río Grande in flood. In addition, representatives were sent from Arivaca, Tubac, Sonoita, Tucson, Gila City and Calabazas.

13. Provisional territorial officers were:

Lewis S. Owings	Governor
Ygnacio Orrantia	Lieutenant Governor
James A. Lucas	Secretary of State
Mark Aldrich	Treasurer
Samuel Bean	Marshal
Granville S. Oury	District Judge (Chief)
S. H. Cozzens	" "
Edward McGowan	" "
R. H. Glenn	District Attorney
Rees Smith	" "
Thomas Mastin	" "
W. E. Wordsworth	Major General
Valentine Robinson	Adjutant General
Burdette Murray	Private Secretary to Governor

All except Aldrich, McGowan, Smith, Wordsworth and Robinson were from Mesilla Valley and included the leading political and business men of that region with the exception of Thomas Bull, Esteban Ocha and Pinckney Tully; all of whom had profitable contracts with the United States Government.

Owings was a financier and promoter, usually in partnership with Murray, publisher of the *Mesilla Times*. Both accompanied the retreating Confederates; later founding the town of Dennison, Texas, where Murray again set up a printing plant.

Ygnacio Orrantia was a trader and politician. Though often openly accused of numerous crimes, including murder, sufficient evidence to justify indictment could never

Owings was a man of action and an outstanding leader. He lost no time in performing the duties of his office. Before leaving Tucson, he selected the Territorial officials and declared the constitution in effect. Since the greatest immediate need was protection against the Apaches, he called for two companies of militia to be organized; one in the Mesilla Valley and the other in the vicinity of Tucson. These were to be known as the Arizona militia. Immediately upon returning to Mesilla he issued a call for volunteers, and within two weeks a company of sixty men was organized which immediately undertook a foray against a tribe of the Mimbres Apaches and captured Elias, their leader, but were unsuccessful in arranging a treaty with him or in inducing him to make war with them upon the neighboring tribes. They then made their headquarters at the newly-discovered placer gold fields at Pinos Altos where they occupied themselves by entering into mining operations. When the Mimbres Apaches, encouraged by the pusillanimity of the soldiers at Fort McLain, began to depredate in the vicinity of Pinos Altos, they again took the field, killing Elias and scattering his band. This militia, with only four defections, later became integrated into Colonel Baylor's Confederate Command.<sup>14</sup>

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be obtained. He fled to Mexico but later returned and was elected to the New Mexico Territorial Council.

Samuel Bean, who had served three terms as Doña Ana County Sheriff, was owner of a mercantile establishment and saloons in Mesilla and Pinos Altos in partnership with his brother, Roy. After having fled to Texas, he returned to open a store in the town of Doña Ana.

Granville Oury was Probate Clerk at Mesilla at intervals during 1859-60, often absenting himself to investigate newly-discovered mining districts. After the end of the Civil War, he returned to Arizona where he practiced law at Coolidge, serving also as Territorial delegate to the United States House of Representatives.

S. H. Cozzens was attorney for the Overland Mail Line. At the beginning of the Civil War, he withdrew from Mesilla along with R. H. Glenn, also an attorney-at-law.

Thomas Mastin, a merchant and gold buyer at Pinos Altos, became captain of the Arizona Guards under Colonel Baylor and was killed in a battle with the Apaches at Whiskey Creek, midway between Pinos Altos and Santa Rita in 1861.

14. The chief source of information concerning the activities of the Arizona Guards is the book "Arizona in the 50's," memoirs of James Tevis, a member both before and after the beginning of the Civil War. Apart from the upgrading of the importance of his participation, so often encountered in reminiscences, his account of events seems to be reliable.

From the records available, it is difficult to determine what measures were taken which might excite the government of the Territory of New Mexico to rage and arms, as Lucas suggests. The records of the probate court for that period are sadly incomplete; many of the pages blank. The constitution of the provisional government had called for county elections to be held in May instead of the usual date in September, but there is no record that they were held on either date. Since Marcial Padilla succeeded Samuel Bean as sheriff in August, May seems the more probable month. No one was elected as delegate to the New Mexico Legislature and the county was not represented in 1861. The separatists seem to have had a setback in the county elections; neither Marcial Padilla or Thomas Bull,<sup>15</sup> elected to the offices of sheriff and probate judge respectively, were supporters. There are no records to show whether their candidacies were contested or the date of issuance of election certificates. The incomplete condition of the records, however, offers some clue to what might have taken place during the period.

Both Oury and Lucas acted as probate clerk and transcribed, over their own signatures, all wills, claims and other legal papers presented to the court in proper sequence in the book reserved for that purpose. In the other book in which the acts of the court should have been entered, there are found many pages in blank followed by numerous entries, not in sequence, in the scrawling hand of Thomas Bull, the Probate Judge. The explanation might be that the clerks were reluctant to put on record acts which might be con-

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15. Thomas Bull was the wealthiest property holder in the Rio Grande Valley, having made a fortune from contracts to furnish lumber, beef and provisions for Fort Fillmore. Doña Ana County possessed no court house previous to 1868, court being held in large rooms which were rented for the occasion and the records placed in the custody of the Probate Clerk. It would appear probable that Bull, a merchant on a large scale, paid little attention to the state of court records until he realized that war was inevitable and made an attempt to bring the records of his court up-to-date. His name was never mentioned in connection with the provisional government and he remained strictly neutral during the Civil War. Not willing to turn over territorial funds to the Confederates, he ordered in April, 1861, that the share of licenses and fees pertaining to the territory, which had been collected for the half-year ending July 1, should be returned to the payers.



sidered illegal at some later investigation. Bull, a neutral both regarding separation from New Mexico and Confederate or Union partizanship in the Civil War may have been unaware of the delinquency or, having permitted it to occur, attempted to remedy the condition by entering, in his own hand, such documents as were at hand, leaving space for earlier procedures if and when they became available. It is significant that on April 9, 1861, some three weeks after Arizona Territory had declared in favor of the Confederacy, he demanded of L. S. Owings and Ygnacio Orrantia the return of forty muskets, property of the county.<sup>16</sup> A study of contemporary newspapers reveals that, with few exceptions, the independent attitude in Mesilla aroused no great storm in Santa Fe.

As Secretary of State in the provisional government Lucas undoubtedly kept a record of the official acts of that body; the same or another book would have served a like purpose while he held the same office in the Confederate Territory of Arizona. Since these were in his custody, he probably carried them with him when he fled from Mesilla. Later, when they could serve no further legal purpose, it is natural that they would be cast aside as useless without consideration of the historical importance which they would later possess.

If the main purpose of the political maneuver was to obtain quick recognition by Congress, the promoters accomplished nothing. Lieutenant Sylvester Mowery was elected as delegate in the April convention but he no longer felt free to undertake the long trip to Washington. Having obtained sufficient financial aid to undertake the development of his mining properties, he now found himself fully occupied in serving the interests of his stockholders. Ores of promising silver content were discovered in mid-summer and Mowery resigned in order to give full attention to his properties. In order to fill the vacancy at a territorial elec-

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16. These weapons were probably used in arming the Arizona Guards. Records show no source from which the cost of equipment and provisions may have come.

tion held in November, Edward McGowan, an attorney-at-law, was chosen in his stead but, for some reason, he did not go to Washington to appear before Congress.

Lucas, W. Claude Jones and Granville Oury were leaders in welcoming the Confederate forces into Arizona. Owings was merely lukewarm, realized the consequences which might follow and disposed of all of his interests in Doña Ana County. On August 1, 1861, Baylor formally set up a military government, with himself as Governor, naming it the Confederate Territory of Arizona. Oury was appointed delegate to the Confederate Congress and Lucas received his coveted office of secretary of State. The Arizona members were replaced. Ernest Angerstein, a Mesilla merchant, was appointed treasurer. Other officers were not considered necessary. The Arizona militia was mustered into the Baylor's forces except for four members who stated a preference for the Union cause and were allowed to go their way. Their numbers were increased by enlistments in El Paso and the Mesilla Valley. The county officials were replaced by citizens of unquestioned loyalty. All of the provincial officers resident in Mesilla, with the exception of two attorneys, Samuel H. Cozzens and R. H. Glenn, became active Confederate supporters. Colonel Baylor established his headquarters first at the town of Doña Ana, later transferring to Mesilla, which then became unquestionably the capital of Arizona.

Within less than a year, the dream had vanished forever. The Texans abandoned the country and with them went their most active sympathizers except for a few of the more aged and infirm. Numerous schemes were discussed in Texas for the reconquest of the region but none ever reached the operational stage. After the close of hostilities, many returned to New Mexico to find a fait accompli and abandoned all hope of a realignment of boundaries. Not so James A. Lucas. Although he did not return until 1875, he immediately undertook a campaign to have Grant County separated from New Mexico and annexed to Arizona; a proposal which was

greeted with some enthusiasm in the latter territory. Thereafter, whenever the slightest regional disaffection entered New Mexico political affairs, he invariably came forward with a new proposal which would lead to the dismemberment of the Territory of New Mexico.

Lucas died on Thanksgiving Day, 1900, but the cause which he espoused did not die with him. Several times in each decade, a "letter to the editor" appears in some newspaper, usually in Grant County, urging a change in boundaries so drawn that the new line lies between the home of the writer and Santa Fe.

## MEXICAN UNIONISTS: A FORGOTTEN INCIDENT OF THE WAR BETWEEN STATES

By CLARENCE C. CLENDENEN\*

IT was a hot day in early September, 1864. In the valley of the lower Rio Grande, during the day, there had been an intermittent rattle of musketry, punctuated occasionally by the sharp report of a field gun. Colonel John S. Ford, C.S.A., commanding the Confederate "Expeditionary Force," may possibly have been surprised, late in the afternoon, on finding that the prisoners captured during the day's spasmodic fighting included twelve men wearing the insignia of Colonel Miguel Echarzarretas Mexican *Exploradores del Bravo*. They had been taken, arms in hand, fighting in the Federal ranks. Moreover, as far as information available to Colonel Ford indicated, the Federals had no artillery in the lower valley, yet during the day there had definitely been artillery in action on the Federal side.<sup>1</sup>

Behind this curious situation lay the complexities of two neighboring countries, each engaged in a desperate civil war. In the late summer of 1864 the civil war that had been raging in the United States for three years showed no signs of abating. The little frontier town of Brownsville had changed hands several times, but was now held by Colonel Ford's Confederate force. Strong Federal forces posted not far distant, at Brazos Santiago, however, constituted a continuous threat to Confederate possession of Brownsville and the lower valley. Brownsville was extremely important, since it was one of the few remaining ports through which the Confederacy could import war materials and export cotton without direct interference by the Union fleet.

South of the Rio Grande, in Mexico, the interminable

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1. *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies in the War of the Rebellion*, Series I, Vol. XLI, p. 947. Since all references in this paper are to volumes of Series I, the series number is hereafter omitted.

civil war that had disrupted the unhappy country for several years seemed to be drawing to its close. With the establishment of Maximilian's empire and the intervention of powerful French forces, the Republic of Mexico and the government of President Benito Juárez appeared to be doomed. The forces remaining loyal to Juárez and the Republic were shattered, with only scattered and isolated bands still offering sporadic resistance to the Imperialists and the French. The State of Tamaulipas, with General Juan Nepomuceno Cortina as Governor, was one of the few states of Mexico remaining under nominal Republican control, and with a Republican garrison still occupying Matamoros, across the river from Brownsville. But even this seemed to be a forlorn hope when, late in August, with French and Imperialist forces converging on Tamaulipas from the interior, a French naval force suddenly appeared at the mouth of the Rio Grande and landed troops who began immediately to make obvious preparations to advance up the river.<sup>2</sup>

Both Confederates and Federals in lower Texas, in spite of their necessary preoccupation with their own turbulent affairs, were watching developments in Mexico with close attention and deep concern. For some time the Confederates had felt that their own interests would be best served by an Imperialist victory in Mexico, and consequently they were thoroughly sympathetic toward the French invaders of the neighboring country. Conversely, from the start President Lincoln's administration in Washington had been sympathetic toward Juárez and his efforts to keep the Republic of Mexico alive. From time to time there had been considerable friction between the United States and France because of Mexico. In the summer of 1864, shortly before the events recounted here, the French charge d'affairs in Washington had protested vigorously because, it was claimed, United States citizens were taking service with Cortina, and Cortina was receiving arms and munitions from the United

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2. *Ibid.*, Vol. XLVI, Part 3, p. 101.

States.<sup>3</sup> And as for Cortina himself, although he was well known as a character who placed his own interests before any others, his attitude was causing the Confederates some uneasiness, because for several months he seemed to be leaning distinctly toward Federals.<sup>4</sup>

This was the broad situation when, around September 1, 1864, Cortina, finding himself threatened by the Imperialists and French from all sides, abandoned his state capital and suddenly arrived at Matamoros with some 1,500 men and twenty or more pieces of artillery. Immediately after arriving he held a council of war with his principal officers to decide upon a course of action. Since the force at his disposal was too small for any hope of defending Matamoros successfully, Cortina decided to pass his troops across the Rio Grande into Texas, and there surrender to the Union authorities. To carry out this decision, however, promised to be difficult, because the Confederates occupied the entire river line from Brownsville to the Gulf of Mexico. A passageway would have to be opened before the Federals could be reached.

An interested and sympathetic observer was the United States consul at Matamoros, L. Pierce, who may possibly have been included in the council of war. Whether present or not, he was clearly in Cortina's confidence, and had full information as to the council's decision immediately after it was formulated. Anxious to do anything possible to embarrass the Confederates and at the same time to forward his government's known policy of benevolence toward the Mexican republicans, Pierce suggested that Cortina move down the river a short distance with a strong detachment, including some artillery, and force an opening through the Confederate cordon. At the same time Pierce sent an urgent message to Colonel Henry M. Day, in command of the Federal force at Brazos Santiago, urging him to send enough troops to drive the Confederates out of Brownsville, aid the

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3. *Ibid.*, Part 2, p. 916.

4. *Ibid.*

Mexicans in their crossing, and accept their surrender.<sup>5</sup> Writing a few days later to Major General F. J. Herron, who commanded all Federal troops in the Gulf region, Pierce expressed the hope that Colonel Day would either employ the Mexicans as beef hunters, or muster them formally into the Federal service as rangers.<sup>6</sup>

By some mysterious means the broad outline of this plan became known to Colonel Ford within a short time. (It is a reasonable assumption that Confederate intelligence agents were keeping a close watch on Cortina and his activities.) Ford had only about five hundred men in his "Expeditionary Force," and so he found it necessary to obtain assistance. At some time on September 6, he wrote an urgent invitation to the commander of the French forces at Bagdad for co-operation in frustrating Pierce's scheme. Ford authorized the French to enter Texas at any point they might choose, and to remain on Texas soil as long as might be necessary.<sup>7</sup> Unfortunately for Ford's hopes, and fortunately for Cortina, the invitation was too late, for the Mexicans had crossed the Rio Grande early that same day.

The records are so fragmentary and confused that it is impossible to determine in detail exactly what happened, or the sequence of events. It is clear that a large body of Cortina's men crossed into the United States with several pieces of artillery. There was some fighting, but there is no positive record to indicate just when or where. On September 7, 1864, the day following the crossing, Colonel Day received an indignant note from "A. Veron," who signed himself as "Commander in Chief, French Forces."

Colonel: Yesterday, the 6th of September, the hostile forces of General Cortina displayed themselves before our lines and made a feint to attack the place we hold. General Cortina, who knows the march of our several columns against him, managed to move without our knowledge, and, with your

5. *Ibid.*, Part 3, p. 101.

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid.*, Part 2, pp. 911-912.

powerful aid, succeeded in passing his troops to your side with arms and baggage. The first squadrons of cavalry afforded you immediate aid to fight the Confederates. This morning the passage of all these forces being effected, you gave them provisions; all that they wanted. According to these facts, and according to the law of nations . . . I am bound to consider the forces of General Cortina as belonging to the United States Government. . . .<sup>8</sup>

Colonel Day responded immediately, curtly informing A. Veron that the latter's note was the first official information he had received about the passage of Cortina's troops into the United States. Day flatly denied furnishing any provisions for the Mexicans, but as to the charge that the Mexicans had taken part in a fight with the Confederates, Day was silent.<sup>9</sup>

It is possible that Veron's note gave Day his first information of the presence of Cortina's troops on United States soil, but his statement that it was the first *official* information he had received carries a strong inference that he had not been in complete ignorance as to what was happening. He had certainly been informed by Consul Pierce that Cortina was planning to cross the river. Although Day had refused Pierce's recommendation that he send a force strong enough to drive the Confederates out of Brownsville, he had actually sent a detachment of unrecorded strength.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, writing hastily to General Herron on September 8, Day said, "These troops [i.e., the Mexicans who had crossed into the United States] are commanded by General Cortina, whom I have seen in person. . . . An order has been sent to him, demanding an immediate surrender. . . ." <sup>11</sup>

A week later, in a more complete report, Day gave somewhat more detailed information. On September 8, he reported, he had dispatched Major E. J. Noyes, with a strong detachment of the 1st Texas Cavalry [Federal], to the point

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8. *Ibid.*

9. *Ibid.*, Part 3, pp. 100-101.

10. *Ibid.*

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 99-100.



where the Mexicans were supposed to be. It will be noted that two days elapsed between the receipt of Veron's complaint and the dispatch of Noyes' force. Noyes was directed to demand the surrender of the Mexicans and to disarm them, *but*, at his own discretion he might allow them to retain or resume their arms if such should prove necessary for defense.<sup>12</sup>

The scanty records indicate that several fights had already occurred between the Mexicans and Confederates, and either while the disarmament was taking place, or shortly after, the Confederates again attacked. In accordance with his orders, Noyes rearmed the Mexicans, who fought alongside the Unionists in resisting the attack. Finding that his ammunition was running low, Noyes fell back slowly to a stronger position, where the fight was renewed. Late in the afternoon he was joined at White's ranch by Day himself, with a part of the 91st Illinois Infantry. There was another Confederate attack at White's ranch, but the combined Union-Mexican force was too strong, and Day reported, "I soon routed them with my artillery." In this day of skirmishing, the sole Union casualties were one American and several Mexican soldiers taken prisoner. As for Day's mention of artillery, one is forced to the conclusion that it was Mexican, since there is no previous mention of any artillery in the Union forces.<sup>13</sup>

The Confederate version of these events differs, naturally, from that of the Federal reports. A few days later Brigadier General Thomas F. Drayton, C.S.A., arrived at Brownsville on a tour of inspection. With considerable indignation he reported to the Confederate high command at Houston that "[Cortina] has most treacherously and unexpectedly allied himself with the Yankees . . . and has fought us on the lower Rio Grande in conjunction with the Yankees on several different occasions. By the gallantry of our troops . . . they have both been driven back to the Brazos

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12. *Ibid.*

13. *Ibid.*, p. 184.

Santiago, after having been severely punished. . . ."<sup>14</sup> And somewhat exultingly General Drayton added that relations between the Yankees and the French had become very complicated as a result of the Mexican republicans crossing the river.

The twelve Mexican soldiers who had the misfortune to be captured caused an immediate flurry of correspondence between the local Confederate and Union commanders—a correspondence that is almost unique in the annals of warfare. On September 12, under a flag of truce, Colonel Ford sent a curt, formal, and icy note to Colonel Day:

Sir: In the recent affairs between your troops and those of my command, between the 6th and 12th instant, 12 Mexicans of the Exploradores del Bravo of Colonel Echarzarreta's corps, General Juan N. Cortina's brigade, were taken prisoners. I desire to know if they were at the time of capture in the service of the Government of the United States?<sup>15</sup>

Day's reply was equally curt and formal. After acknowledging the capture of the twelve Mexicans, Day stated briefly, "I have the honor to state that those men were in the service of the United States and fighting under the U.S. flag."<sup>16</sup>

With this interchange of hostile courtesies the matter drops from sight. It may be assumed that the prisoners were treated as prisoners of war, rather than as bandits or filibusters. Cortina, for reasons best known to himself alone, seems not to have entered the United States at any time. There is nothing to indicate whether Day adopted Consul Pierce's suggestion that the Mexican soldiers be employed as beef hunters or rangers, or whether they eventually returned to Mexico to follow their unpredictable general in changing sides from the Republic to the Empire and back to the Republic. Long after the affair had been all but for-

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14. *Ibid.*, pp. 931-932.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 947.

16. *Ibid.*

gotten in the lower Rio Grande Valley, the French charge d'affairs in Washington protested against granting asylum to Cortina's men. The whole curious incident was finally closed by Lieutenant General Ulysses S. Grant, in supreme command of all the Union armies, in a brief decision: "If Cortina's men came into the United States, there was no law against it. The Imperialists had the same right."<sup>17</sup>

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17. *Ibid.*, Vol. XLVIII, Part 2, pp. 1253-1254.

## THE SHEEP INDUSTRY IN ARIZONA, 1905-1906

*Edited by* FRANK D. REEVE

IN MARICOPA COUNTY. The variety of climate which one finds within the 113,000 square miles—the aggregate area of the 13 counties of Arizona—is sensibly (ocularly and tangibly) demonstrated to the visitor who in December or January repairs from the high snow-covered plains of Yavapai, which spread out from the feet of lofty, frost-bedded mountains, in a keen, wintry (but healthful) atmosphere, such as one may reasonably expect to find at an elevation of 5,000 to 7,000 feet, to Maricopa county, 190 odd miles south, where to-day, January 8, 1906, roses are in bloom on the edges of the shadows which palms, pepper trees, oleanders or large cacti make, where they intercept the rays of the ever-present sun.

The altitude of Phoenix, in the heart of Maricopa, is 1,050 feet.

Maricopa, whose area is equivalent to that of the states of Rhode Island and Connecticut combined, embraces 7,500 square miles largely plain land, which lies upon either side of Salt river, a tributary of the Gila, which flows through a valley 50 miles long—from the point where it receives the Verde to its confluence with the Gila; a valley almost surrounded by the foothills of spectacular, ancient volcanic ranges, whose picturesque conoid peaks raise their heads into the clear azure and catch the slanting rays of light.

On the north is the Phoenix range, south of whose eastern shoulder is its outpost, the Camelback, which, as viewed from the city of Phoenix, presents a facsimile of the dorsal section of a gigantic dromedary.

On the south is the broad-based Salt river range. It has as its western shoulder an offshoot, heart-shaped spur.

Far to the southwest, beyond the left bank of the Gila,

their summits looking down upon the meeting of the big river with its affluent, are the Estrellas.

This valley, which is 15 miles wide, with its tributary vales in Maricopa, contains the largest body of cultivated lands in the territory.

The tillable area embraces half a million acres. So level is its surface that it induces the belief that it has been smoothed by ancient irrigators—perhaps the Toltecs, of pre-Aztec lineage.<sup>21</sup>

At the present time great canals—rivers in capacity—and their laterals are distributing the life-giving fluid upon fertile farms. "The Salt River Project" was one of the first enterprises decided upon by the secretary of interior, after the passage of the national irrigation law. It is also one of the largest.

The Tonto dam and reservoir, located below the junction of Tonto creek with Salt river, 70 miles from Phoenix, when both shall be completed, will furnish water for 200,000 acres in Salt river valley.<sup>22</sup>

The Tonto dam, which is reached from Mesa by a wagon road\* which winds among the hills amid romantic scenery, will be the highest in the world, towering 270 feet above its

21. Ancient irrigation in the Salt River Valley is discussed in detail by Omar A. Turney, *Prehistoric Irrigation*, n. p., 1929. A quotation from James E. Rusling, *The Great West and the Pacific Coast*, General Sheldon and Co., New York, [1877] describing the irrigation system and ruins is printed in Thomas Edwin Farish, *History of Arizona*, 6:1-44. Phoenix, 1918. A map is at p. 70.

22. "Ways through this [Mogollón Rim] were found, however, into Tonto Basin, a great expanse, about 100 miles in length by 80 in width, lying south and southwest of the rim, bounded on the west by the Mazatzal Mountains, and on the south and southeast by spurs of the Superstitions and Pinals. The Basin itself contains a sizable mountain range, the Sierra Ancha." James H. McClintock, *Mormon Settlement in Arizona*, p. 174. Phoenix, Arizona, 1921. In 1867, Jack W. Swilling organized a company and built the first canal from Salt River, now known as the "Town Ditch," to reclaim 4 thousand acres. It was completed in 1868. Farish, *Arizona*, 2:252, 6:72ff. The National Irrigation laws by Congress on July 26, 1866, and July 9, 1870, gave the western states and territories some control over irrigation. Wylls, *Arizona*, p. 259. The Carey Act of August 18, 1894, was not accepted by Arizona until 1912. *Ibid.*, p. 260.

The Roosevelt (Tonto) Dam at the junction of Salt River and Tonto Creek was authorized by the Bureau of Reclamation (created June, 17, 1902) on May 14, 1903. Construction began on April 8, 1905, and the first water was available, May 15, 1907. It was dedicated March 18, 1911. *Ibid.*, 262.

\* This was built by bonds to the amount of \$75,000 voted by the people of Phoenix, Tempe and Mesa.

foundations on bed rock 30 feet below water mark. It will, moreover, be only second in size to the Assouan dam, across the Nile.

The great artificial reservoir behind the dam, 25 miles long and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles wide, has a capacity for "impounding" 1,100,000 square feet of water, which, if spread out one foot deep, would cover over 1,000,000 acres.\*\*

THE CLIMATE of the valley is semi-tropical—little frost, no snow, and moderate rain in winter. The mercury rarely drops below the freezing point (32 degrees above zero), Fahrenheit.

The average annual rainfall is 6.37 inches; principally in winter. Thunderstorms are rare. Cyclones are unknown.

Owing to the local absence of humidity in the atmosphere, the summer heat here, even at its maximum, 110 degrees or upward, is far less prostrating than a temperature of 90 degrees in the Atlantic states.<sup>23</sup>

PRODUCTIONS. The soil is practically inexhaustible. The Maricopa Indians,<sup>24</sup> a half-civilized tribe or its remnant, have raised wheat here continuously since the early Missions in the 17th century.

To-day alfalfa, grain, broom, corn, cane, sorghum and all vegetables (green peas, for example, are shipped to Kansas City April 1) are raised in large quantities.

Semi-tropical fruits—oranges, lemons, olives, pomegranates, wine and table grapes, dates, bananas and nectarines—are produced in abundance, as are also deciduous fruits—

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\*\* The cost of this reservoir project—\$4,000,000—is to be paid to the national government as a loan without interest in ten annual installments when the dam is completed. Divided among 200,000 acres to be benefited, the cost would be \$20 per acre.

23. Phoenix, in the Salt River Valley, has an elevation of 1,108 feet; annual precipitation 7.90 inches; mean temperature 69.7 degrees; highest temp. 118; lowest 16. H. V. Smith, "Climate," University of Arizona, *General Bulletin No. 3* (April 1, 1936).

24. "By act of February 28th, 1859, a reservation was set apart for the Maricopa and Pima [Indians] on the Gila river, Arizona; this was enlarged by executive order of June 14th, 1879 . . . , May 5th, 1882, and November 15th, 1883." Farish, *Arizona*, 7:226. General James E. Rusling (Inspector of the War Department in 1867) published a description of Maricopa farming in *The Great West and the Pacific Coast*, reprinted in *Ibid.*, 6:8. See also *Ibid.*, 7:236f. For a scholarly study see Edward F. Castetter and Willis H. Bell, *Pima and Papago Indian Agriculture*. The University of New Mexico Press, 1942. (*Inter-Americana Studies I*).

apricots, peaches, pears, quinces, apples, almonds and prunes, and various kinds of berries.

Grapes commence to bear here in two years, from cuttings, in one year from rooted vines; peaches and apricots in the third year, and oranges in the fourth year.

In conclusion, it may be said that cotton of good quality is grown here, but not yet in sufficient quantity to establish a market.

The surrounding mining and livestock districts consume the greater part of the fresh fruits. The surplus is either shipped in refrigerator cars or dried or canned by the Phoenix Packing Co. for the eastern markets.

Salt river valley is a good location for livestock. Horses, cattle, sheep and hogs can be matured upon alfalfa pastures without ever being housed or fed one pound of grain.

The mild climate and good pastures are attracting attention to the region as one favorable to the breeding of pedigreed stock. The territorial fair held in Phoenix last month in some of its phases attested this fact, as will be shown later.

**SHEEP IN THE FOOTHILLS.** From carefully collected data (for I have been able to find no record at the capital) I estimate the number of sheep owned and grazing in the territory at date (Jan. 9, 1906) at one-half million.

Of these at least one-half are wintering in the foothills, which, as aforesaid, are clustered around and about the valley of Salt river, the sheep camps being within 20 miles of Phoenix, which at present writing is the headquarters of a number of the proprietors.

The neighboring hills not only afford an ideal winter home for sheep, but as the ewes here are shorn before lambing the situation is most favorable for such purpose. Indeed, in most years, such practice would be infeasible in the northern counties.

Again, the local facilities for shearing and shipping the wool are an additional advantage incident to wintering in Maricopa county.

In relation to shearing it may be said that some of the large operators are awakening to the feasibility of

USING SHEARING MACHINES for taking off the coats of the ewes. Mr. C. C. Hutchinson<sup>25</sup> and others are just about to install a plant for use in the 1906 campaign.

While there may, in the past, have been some prejudice against the employment of machinery, it looks to me as if, year by year, growers everywhere are coming to realize that, the machines being properly operated, more wool is obtained (from one-half a pound to one and a half pounds per head) and a more uniform length of staple, neater work generally being done and a smooth-shorn sheep coming from the hands of the shearer, to say nothing of a most important fact in this connection, viz., that the machine clipping process is more merciful to the sheep at shearing and for many days thereafter than the method of the hand shears.

During "fair week," in December, 1905, a meeting of the Arizona Wool Growers' Association was held at Phoenix, the purpose of which was to meet the superintendent of the forest reserve and adjust the matter of grazing permits for 1906. Similar meetings are held at approximately this time in the season, and for precisely the same purpose, in all the states and territories in which sheep are allowed to run on such government lands as have been withdrawn from entry and settlement.

Of the transactions at this meeting some account will be given later. At the moment I desire to notice the lively appreciation entertained by the individual growers of the services rendered them by the organization, the fraternal feeling among the members and their grateful acknowledgment of the successful services of their indefatigable president,

MR. E. S. GOSNEY,<sup>26</sup> of Flagstaff.

I know not how many times I have heard from the lips of Arizona growers words to the following effect:

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25. C. C. Hutchinson was a delegate from Conconino County to the Arizona state constitutional convention, September, 1910. Wyllys, *Arizona*, p. 305.

26. E. S. Gosney. I have found no other reference to this person.



"The association has been our only salvation; but for it we could not have continued in business, for the first idea of the Interior Department was to altogether exclude sheep from the reserve.

"The organization, primarily through the efforts of our president, secured for us the privilege of running upon such land, under suitable regulations. It has made our allotments for us, helped to make trails, protected the range, and in other respects has incalculably benefited us."

As Mr. Gosney is a highly valued member of the National Wool Growers' Association, and has been a prominent figure in every session of that body since its reorganization, his name is familiar to wool growers from California to New England and from the Canadian to the Mexican borders, therefore the account published in a recent number of the "American Shepherd's Bulletin," of the presentation to him of an elegant "loving cup" by his numerous associates in the sheep industry in Arizona must have been noted with interest by sheepmen all over the United States, and the gift must have been regarded by them as a well-deserved and eloquent tribute to this gentleman's public spirit, unselfish energy, and diplomatic ability.\*

I do not know in how many sheep concerns Mr. Gosney, who is a banker at Flagstaff, may be financially interested, but an important one among them is the firm of Gosney & Kilgour, of which

MR. J. M. KILGOUR,<sup>27</sup> of Williams, whose name well indicates his sturdy Scotch lineage, is manager.

This gentleman and Mr. C. C. Hutchinson were the first sheep men whom I had the pleasure of meeting at the Arizona capital in "fair time."

This firm was formed four years ago. Their flock at pre-

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\* It was mainly through his instrumentality that Chief Pinchot and other officials connected with the Bureau of Forestry were led to visit the territory, to view and investigate the situation—to observe existing conditions and hear the story of the sheep men, with the result that justice was rendered to them in regard to the enjoyment of grazing privileges on the Arizona reserve.

27. J. M. Kilgour. I have found no other reference to this person.

sent is composed of grade Merinos such as will clip seven or eight pounds per head. These are usually shorn in January or early February, in the vicinity of Phoenix.

Eleven cents per head is paid for machine shearing, ten cents for hand. Both prices cover expense of sacks, twine and branding.

I note here that while last year wool was high, and there was comparatively little competition among buyers, in ordinary years buying is competitive, and clips sell more nearly according to merit.

I find the average price paid by eastern buyers for wool here to have been 18½c. Some place it at 19c., and even more. I have discovered no one who has contracted his fleece for 1906 and am of the opinion that not a pound has yet been disposed of.

The ewes, as a rule, go straight from the shearing corral to the lambing ground.

The lambs ordinarily commence to arrive about the 15th or 20th of February and are coming thenceforth to about the same dates in the following month.

Mr. K. says: "We have never made less than 85 per cent of the ewes bred, and sometimes have had 105 per cent of lambs. This is my personal experience in 12 years.

"Six extra men are necessary in the lambing period, who receive \$30 to \$35 per month and board. This is also the wages of herder and camp tender. The board including the mutton consumed costs \$15 per month.

"The 'help' ordinarily are Mexicans. They are good, faithful fellows. One of these has been with me 12 years. He is a most reliable man."

**ANENT THE BUCKS.** "We are using good high-grade Arizona bucks of the Rambouillet order. Have bought of E. T. Smith, of Seligman, and of Sears and Dent, Flagstaff.

"The men who take charge of our buck bands for eleven months in the year receive 15 @ 20c. per head per month (wool included) for the care of them.

"With careful handling the annual loss of bucks is in-

significant. The yearly depreciation is not more than one-fourth of the value."

LOSS OF SHEEP. "Our bands here number from 2,000 to 2,500. We cull out and fatten every fall. This reduces our losses to the minimum. Among 6,000 sheep they amount to no more than 5 per cent to 7½ per cent of the whole."

Now Mr. Kilgour kindly consents to figure the expense of running a straight ewe band of 2,000 in this territory in the case of a flockmaster who, summering on the northern range, comes down into Maricopa during the winter months. His long experience and his careful habit of recording expenses ought to insure the accuracy of the following

## STATEMENT

Taxes .....	\$120.00
Wages, two men at \$65 .....	780.00
Living, two men at \$35 .....	300.00
Shearing, 11 cents per head .....	220.00
Extra expense, lambing, 30 days .....	90.00
Living of three extra men, 30 days .....	37.50
Sundries .....	200.00
Salt (4,800 lbs.) .....	64.80
Wear and tear of camp outfit .....	75.00
Extra expense, 1,000 lambs at 25c. per head .....	400.00
Loss, 7 per cent (140 at \$3) .....	420.00
Loading wool .....	10.00
Total .....	<u>\$2,717.30</u>

Or \$1.35 per capita for the year.

The receipts were as follows:

\$2,700 for 13,500 lbs. of wool at 20c.

4,800 for 1,000 lambs at \$3 per head.

\$7,500 total.

Mr. C. C. Hutchinson, of

C. C. HUTCHINSON & Co., is a Vermont Yankee from the Memphremagog region of the Green Mountain state, a genial, large-hearted individual and undoubtedly one of the most popular sheep men in the territory. He has had a varied experience.

Starting in the spring of 1892 with a partner when sheep were low (they had a band of 1,600), things were generally unsettled. A change of administration was imminent; prices of sheep products were dropping; altogether the result of his first year's experience was not highly encouraging. His partner eventually dropped out.

In the fall Mr. Cleveland was elected. Sheep the next year were worth \$1.25 per head and the best price for wool was 5c. per pound.

Later a new partnership was formed. The concern began with 1,100 grade ewes (Merinos). Lincoln bucks<sup>28</sup> were imported for use in the flock; the idea at the time was to get a good mutton sheep as wool was down.

Some of his sheep to-day in size, form and fleece show the Lincoln strain very markedly. I saw the other day three admirable specimens which he had brought down from the range; large, blocky bodies they had, with thick, long-staple wool covering their carcasses. One was one-half, the other two and a quarter Lincoln. He told me that he rounded them up in two feet of snow to catch them.

Mr. H. thinks well of Hampshire Down rams<sup>29</sup> when the purpose is to breed for mutton lambs.

At present Mr. H., who has a large outfit, is running NATIVE ARIZONA EWES, which clip about eight pounds per head.

He intends this year to shear before lambing. He estimates the average price received here for wool in 1905 at 18½c. per pound.

This concern (C. C. H. & Co.) employs two men to a band (one herder and one man to look after the burros). These are principally Mexicans, who, Mr. H. says, know their business, are hardy fellows, and above all are conscientious.

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28. The Lincoln is a native of England with long coarse wool and white face; hornless, a large mutton sheep. It is crossed with fine wool ewes in many countries. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1961.

29. The Hampshire Down was developed in England. It has a medium quality wool and is a popular breed for a meat animal. *Ibid.*

The proprietor, early in his career, herded for three years, and so "knows how it is."

"One point in regard to 'good' Mexican herders," says he, "is that they are careful in using the dogs. There's a great difference, too, among dogs; quarter breed shepherd dogs<sup>30</sup> are much more satisfactory on the range than pure bloods."

An extra man, a foreman, is employed for four bands. The cost of subsistence is quite \$15 a month, per man. They are furnished flour (and baking powder), sugar, tea, potatoes and onions, bacon and two kinds of dried fruit.

For the spring, summer and fall water supply the concern has two dams on the Grand Canyon road, way north of Williams.

Although it has not yet been necessary to feed the sheep in winter, Mr. H. has several ranches in the vicinity of Seligman on which he raises hay and grain: two respectively 12 and 25 miles south of the town, one 35 miles southwest, one 25 miles north, and one eight miles east. On one of the southern ranches he has a fine orchard.

Mr. Hutchinson estimates the average cost of running sheep in the north at about one dollar per head, although the expense is considerably more where the bands migrate south in winter.

"The Campbells<sup>31</sup> are coming, Oh, ho! Oh, ho!"

Three of them were already on the ground when I arrived in Phoenix in "fair week," viz., Colin, Hugh and W. H.

The first named is a big, brawny, brainy individual of the "Highland" type, whose appearance at once sets one to thinking of the Shire of Argyle or of the Isle of Arran, and

30. The Collie is an aristocrat among working dogs. There are two varieties, the rough and smooth coat. It was developed in Scotland. *Ibid.* "the bribeless guardians of the helpless sheep. . . ." Hasket, "Sheep Industry. . .," p. 28.

31. "Many of the men who came into northern Arizona with the construction crews remained in the sheep industry. Foremost among them should be mentioned the Campbell Brothers. They arrived in Arizona in 1882 when the Atlantic and Pacific reached Flagstaff, and entered the sheep business in 1884." Wentworth, *Sheep Trails*, p. 252. Hugh E. Campbell was born in Nova Scotia, Canada, June 10, 1862. He served for many years as President of the Arizona Wool Growers Association (1918-1923) and also served in the Arizona Senate. *History of Arizona, Biographical*, III:482, Record Publishing Company, Phoenix, 1980. Haskett, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

of Scotch flocks, herds and horses. He, as well as his brothers, resides at Flagstaff and is one of the best known flock-masters in the territory. In my next letter from Arizona I hope to be able to give some leaves from Mr. Colin's book of experience.

Mr. Hugh, who is of the firm of

CAMPBELL & FRANCIS, was, I believe, the first man to call my attention to the hardship which the enforcement of the twenty-eight hour law imposes upon shippers of sheep to the Missouri river markets. He voiced the views of every one else concerned in his appeal for its revision along the lines indicated earlier in the course of this letter.

I had the same day the pleasure of meeting his partner, Mr. Francis. Both of these gentlemen are enthusiasts in sheep husbandry, which pursuit they have followed since 1886.

Mr. Hugh estimates the annual per capita cost of maintaining a flock of sheep in the territory, in case the proprietor migrates south with his stock for the winter period, at \$1.25.

He says the minimum season's loss, exclusive of casualties during lambing and the subsequent loss of lambs, is 3 per cent, but in some unfavorable years a flock will be out upwards of 10 per cent.

The causes, which are various, include bad weather, drought, the depredations of wild animals, and deaths from eating creosote brush and other banes.

THE LAMB CROP. One of their bands will be lambled this year in January, but for the rest the lambs will begin to show up early in February, that is to say, before Feb. 15. The crop ranges from 50 per cent in bad years to 85 per cent to 90 per cent in normal seasons.

Campbell & Francis are running fine medium Merinos, "7-pound" sheep. They received 19 $\frac{5}{8}$ c. per pound for their 1905 clip.

MR. W. H. CAMPBELL, whom I should suppose to be the youngest of the trio, although I may be mistaken, has also

been in business for himself since 1886. He is running grade Merinos and grade Rambouillets<sup>32</sup> and is using in his flock both big, smooth Merino and Rambouillet rams as he may deem expedient.

Mr. Campbell shears before lambing, usually about the first of February. The average weight of fleece is about eight pounds. His wool last year brought 18½c. per pound.

The earliest lambs come along about the 15th of February or within the succeeding five days. During the past five years the "drop" has averaged over 90 per cent of the ewes bred.

This gentleman says his losses, year in and year out, exclusive of lambs, will average 7 per cent.

He estimates the cost of running at \$1 and upward per head; under the most favorable circumstances it will cost at least \$1 per head.

"If feed is in sight I aim to shear in the last days of January, before lambing, which commences about the middle of February, says

MR. H. C. LOCKETT,<sup>33</sup> who came hither from Iowa a quarter century earlier and who has run sheep since 1887. This gentleman lives on his ranch, 15 miles out from Phoenix.

His sheep are three-quarters Merino and one-fourth Shropshire.<sup>34</sup> Their wool would be classed as fine medium. The average fleece from this flock will weigh 7½ pounds. This wool in 1905 brought 20c. per pound.

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32. "Flock improvement through the use of purebred rams, in fact, was quite general in Arizona by 1900. In addition to the Merino strains, most of the more common breeds such as the Shropshire, Oxford Downs, Tunis, Cotswold, Lincoln, Hampshire, and Suffolk were tried out by growers at one time or another. It was found, however, that ewe flocks best adapted to the Arizona ranges were those carrying a large preponderance of Merino blood, notably that of the Rambouillet, and that the best market lambs were those of the Hampshire-Rambouillet cross." Haskett, *op. cit.*, p. 36. The Rambouillet originated in France. It was developed from the Spanish Merino that were secured in 1786 and 1789. It is the largest of the fine wool sheep. They were first imported to the United States in 1840 and dominated on the western ranges. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1961.

33. H. C. Lockett was a pioneer sheepman in Coconino County post-1881. Haskett, *op. cit.*, p. 29; mentioned in Wentworth, *Sheep Trails*, p. 252.

34. The Shropshire originated in the Downs of England. It is a popular farm sheep with a medium wool, good mutton and one that can do well on sparse pasturage. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1961.

"Wool in this vicinity in the same season," says Mr. L., "sold at 16 to 22 cents per pound. I should place the average price at 18½ to 19 cents."

During the period between 1892 and 1896 the lowest price for wool which came to this gentleman's attention was four cents per pound, when wethers were selling at \$1 @ \$1.75 per cwt.

THE WEST COAST MARKETS. I have in earlier letters called attention to the importance which the Pacific coast markets have attained in recent years, and especially as outlets for the beef and mutton raised in the western portion of the intermountain region (north or south), and the trans-Sierra and trans-Cascade sections. The thought of this recurs at the moment, when I find that a great many of the lambs here are shipped to Los Angeles instead of to Kansas City.

This plan, I should suppose, would be more convenient to the majority of producers, involving less work and insuring quicker returns. Whether it is as profitable to the growers as to send their product east, I do not know.

However, there is, and will long continue to be, an immense amount of stock exported from the territory to the Missouri river markets, and even to Chicago, from Flagstaff and other points.

Mr. Lockett shipped his lambs, last year, in June and July, to Kansas City. He tells me that there they averaged 68 pounds (live weight).

He says the average price during the past five years, for lambs placed upon the market in summer, has been \$2.25 @ \$2.35.

LOSSES. Mr. L. finds loss of sheep, outside of lambing, yearly, to reach 10 per cent, partly from cats and coyotes, but more largely from the animals cropping "poisonous" shrubs and plants, such as chico, some kind of grease wood, milkweed and the purple blossomed loco.

He for the most part employs on the range Basque Frenchmen, whose wages are \$30 per month and found. Recurring for a moment to the matter of the disposal of the



wool at Phoenix, the present method is for the growers to receive sealed bids from the would-be buyers, which upon opening and noting, the former may decide as they deem best as "to closing out."

At Phoenix among other gentlemen whom I met were Messrs H. R. Melbourne<sup>35</sup> and Frank Beasley.<sup>36</sup> Both assured me that the range is, on the whole, in fine shape—better, in fact, than ever before in 15 years. The "grass feed" is gramma and blue stem.

They further say that the "help" (Mexicans) is better than ever. One or the other of these gentlemen remarked that his Mexicans saved last year \$47 worth of pelts, which were sold to Babbitt Bros.

Mr. Melbourne began with sheep in 1882; Mr. Beasley, six years later. Both are running fine medium Merinos, which shear seven pounds to eight pounds (eight months' wool). Their clips sold at 17¾ and 18⅓ cents, respectively.

Shearing is from the 6th to the 17th of February and by the 17th of March they are through lambing.

One of these gentlemen remarked that he saved and sold from the "drop" of three consecutive years, lambs as follows: In 1903, 103 per cent; in 1904, 75 per cent; in 1905, 110 per cent, or an average of 96 per cent of the ewes bred.

The loss of sheep is mainly from poison. One sheep bane mentioned by them is "iodine brush."

The cost of running sheep, they say, is at least \$1 per head yearly.

Both of these gentlemen reside at Flagstaff.

"Wool with us is the first consideration," says Mr. Wolfolk,<sup>37</sup> who has had experience with sheep for several years. "We are running stock which is a cross between Merino and Lincoln (one-eighth Lincoln). The advantage derived from such a blend of strains is that it increases the size of the

35. H. R. Melbourne, a pioneer sheepman of Coconino County post-1881. Haskett, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

36. Frank Beasley. A sheepman in Coconino County post-1891. *Ibid.*, p. 48.

37. C. T. Woolfolk and Harry Henderson were sheepmen in Coconino County post-1891. *Ibid.*, p. 48.

sheep, smooths them up and lengthens the staple. The rams used for this purpose came from Utah. We shear after lambing, perhaps we save more lambs for that reason. The lambing estimate may seem large—94 per cent to 95 per cent of the ewes bred. The lambs are shipped August 1, and at that time generally weigh 64 pounds to 69 pounds live weight.

“Our losses are light. In regard to loco, I desire to say that my experience is that by frequently moving camp and by plentifully salting, little trouble will be had from the sheep eating this plant.”

Mr. Wolfolk, who is of the firm of

HENDERSON AND WOLFOLK, furnishes for the “Bulletin” the following itemized statement of the expense of running 4,000 sheep one year:

Taxes .....	\$ 224.00
Wages (4 men) .....	2,170.00
Living (4 men) .....	432.00
Extra expense, lambing .....	350.00
Shearing (13c. per head) .....	520.00
Loss (5 per cent, and mutton killed) .....	350.00
Feed of span of horses and two saddle horses .....	204.58
Sundries .....	600.00
3,500 lambs (extra expense) .....	300.00
Depreciation in bucks .....	540.00
Total .....	<u>\$5,690.58</u>

\$5,690.58 divided by 4,000 gives as the annual per capita expense, \$1.42.

MR. JOHN MUDERSBACH,<sup>38</sup> one of your many appreciative readers here, who came hither from Ohio in 1889, says that his lamb crop, at marking, ordinarily amounts to 90 per cent of the ewes bred, and that he markets in July 85 per cent to 87 per cent. These average in weight (at market) 65 pounds.

He usually shears before lambing. He pays 12 cents per head for shearing; this covers all incidental expenses.

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38. Gus Mudersbach was a pioneer sheepman of Coconino County post-1881 and J. C. Mudersbach after 1891. *Ibid.*, p. 48.

Though the sheep (fine medium Merinos) run in the brush most of the time, their average weight of fleece is eight pounds. He believes his wool will yield 40 clean pounds to the hundred, in scouring.

MR. E. A. SAWYER,<sup>39</sup> who, like Mr. Mudersbach, resides at Flagstaff, and who has been running bands since 1889 (although earlier having had much experience with sheep), says his medium Merinos, clipped among the hills before lambing, sheared last year nine to ten pounds per head. Their wool brought 18 $\frac{1}{4}$  cents per pound. The lambs begin to arrive from the first to the fifth of May. He markets early in September 70 @ 80 per cent of the previous spring's drop. These average in weight 70 pounds (at market).

Mr. S. estimates that it costs \$12.50 per month, per man, exclusive of the mutton consumed, to feed the "help."

In this estimate, his neighbor,

MR. E. B. NEWMAN,<sup>40</sup> who has had a similarly long experience, concurs.

The latter gentleman is also in agreement with the former in regard to the results of lambing, although his sheep differ somewhat from Mr. S.'s, being a mixture of Shrop and Merino. These shear seven pounds per head. Mr. N. sold his clip last year for 18 $\frac{3}{4}$  cents per pound.

"Never before," says

MR. HENRY C. YAEGER,<sup>41</sup> of Phoenix, "was there such a scarcity of fat sheep or lambs here as now. You may expect the receipts of this kind from Arizona to be nil, this year.

"Heretofore, the first 'grass' (range) sheep and lambs have come from this section of the country—the earliest range lambs have always come from this territory. These are all cleaned up.

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39. Sawyer and Otondo were sheep operators when the railroad arrived in Arizona with headquarters on Silver Creek south of Holbrook. Wentworth, *Sheep Trails*, p. 251. E. A. Sawyer of Flagstaff was President of the Arizona Wool Growers Association 1915-1917. Haskett, "Sheep Industry . . .," p. 46.

40. A George Newman is listed as a sheepman of Coconino County post-1891. *Ibid.*, p. 48.

41. Harlow Yaeger, H. C. Yaeger and L. D. Yaeger were sheepmen of Coconino County post-1891. *Ibid.*, p. 48; Wentworth, *Sheep Trails*, p. 254.

"Our lambs, which usually come February 20 to February 25, and on from the latter date, are marketed in June or July at Kansas City, and up to last year ordinarily netted us \$2.75, but last year \$3.50 and upward.

"A four months' lamb, born in February and sold in June or July at Kansas City, will ordinarily weigh 60 pounds to 75 pounds at that place."

Of the forest reserve in Arizona, Mr. Y. remarked: "It has made the sheep business respectable. In lieu of, say, one-half million sheep covering a given territory, with incidents of bickering, strife and perhaps gun play among the parties in charge of them, now one hundred thousand peacefully graze on their allotted grounds, the owners of flocks being restricted to certain areas. There is plenty of room for all, and plenty of feed. There is not an allotment on which double the number assigned could not be run."

Of loss of sheep, he says: "Of mature stock, it is no more than 5 per cent. The biggest loss is from causes unaccountable.

"The naked running expense of keeping sheep," says he, "is 75 cents to 80 cents per head (net); reckoning all contingencies, it is \$1.30 or thereabout."

Mr. Y., who is the head of the firm of

H. C. YAEGER & SONS, commenced in the industry in 1896. His boys are the active sheep men of the concern; notably so is the youngest son.

To-day they are making a good deal of a specialty of raising mutton lambs, so breed exclusively to blackface rams.\*

The lamb crop is invariably promptly worked off at the moment that shipment is practicable. The ewes in the fall are carefully inspected (mouthed), and those deemed unsuitable for further use are muttoned, and then, probably, young Mr. Yaeger hies away to southern Utah to buy other ewes, as is his custom.

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\* The senior Yaeger tells me that he prefers, among all the Downs, Hampshires. "They seem," says he, "to produce the best lambs."

This last remark causes me to recall that in my September letter I mentioned meeting, in May, at Tropic, Garfield County, Utah,

MR. R. B. WALTON<sup>42</sup> and his estimable wife, of Flagstaff, Arizona. Mr. W. was then in quest of sheep. He purchased a flock about that time in the neighborhood of Cannonville, which, the reader who did me the honor to follow me through southern Utah in 1905, will remember, is located among the curious sandstone hills of vast, sparsely peopled Garfield, 50 miles over the mountains, east of Panguitch, and at about the same distance west from Escalante.

In September, his wife accompanying him, he repaired to Utah with a pack train of burros to receive his sheep, making the long, wearisome, hazardous overland journey and returning by the same route.

This involved twice crossing the Grand Canyon of the Colorado, and on the return trip the descent over the lofty rimrock on the north side, following the zigzag boulder, bestrewn trail down the steep face of the declivity to the ferry.<sup>43</sup>

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42. R. B. Walton was born in New Jersey, July 25, 1871. He located in Phoenix as an insurance man in 1897, established a summer home in Flagstaff 1898, and engaged in the livestock industry 1903-1922. *History of Arizona, Biographical*, IV:512.

43. I assume that this was Lees Ferry where Jacob Hamblin, Mormon missionary, crossed the Colorado River in 1864 and 1869. In October of 1871, the Mormons established the ferry. It was located at the mouth of the Paria, a north-side tributary of the Colorado. John Doyle Lee, a Mormon refugee from the law, settled there in 1872 and gave his name to the ferry. Wyllys, *Arizona*, p. 216. Lee probably located at the Ferry late in December, 1871. Robert Glass Cleland and Juanita Brooks, eds., *A Mormon Chronicle: The Diaries of John D. Lee, 1843-1876*, II:178ff. The Huntington Library, San Marino, California, 1955. Jacob Hamblin "located a settlement on the Paria River, started a ranch in Rock House Valley and laid out a practicable route from Lee's Ferry to the Little Colorado. Actual use of the Lee's Ferry road by wagons was in the spring of 1873 by a party headed by Lorenzo W. Roundy, who crossed the Colorado at Lee's Ferry, passing on the Navajo Springs, seven miles beyond, and thence about ten miles to Bitter Springs and then on to Moen Copie." McClintock, *Mormon Settlements*, p. 82.

Another crossing of the Colorado was known as Pearce's Ferry, which "lies immediately below the great Canyon at Grand Wash, a point where there was ferrying, in 1862, by Hamblin and a party who brought a boat from Kanab. . . . but it appears that it was not until December, 1876, that a regular ferry there was established, this by Harrison Pearce. . . . A son of Harrison Pearce, and former assistant in the operation of the ferry, James Pearce, was the first settler of Taylor on Silver Creek, Arizona, where he still resides . . . as of . . ." McClintock, *Mormon Settlements*, p. 96, also pp. 67, 68f, 84f. Wyllys, *Arizona*, p. 215. Wentworth, *Sheep Trails*, p. 246.

Hitherto, sheep men and everybody else who was acquainted with the situation had always declared that it would be a sheer impossibility to take a flock of sheep, alive, over that rimrock and down the cliff to the river.

But my spare, slim, wiry, sanguine friend, with plenty of courage and most sublime stubbornness, last September demonstrated the practicability of the project.

I seem to see him at the ferry, mounted upon his sleek steed (his flock at hand in good order, waiting to embark), serenely smiling through the lenses of his pince-nez.

Mrs. Walton made the trip over rimrock, mountain, plain and desert waste mainly on horseback, perhaps riding over some stretches in a wagon when it was practicable to do so.

She was the second woman who ever crossed the Grand Canyon, and the first to achieve the remarkable feat of making the overland journey from along the line of the Santa Fe in Arizona into the heart of Garfield county in Utah, returning by the same trail to the original point of departure (with all that this implies).

How is that for a lady whose girlhood was passed in the quiet, uneventful atmosphere of southern New England!

Mr. W., who was spending the winter at Phoenix, is a great fancier of horses and knows a good one when he sees it.

In a rational way, he is a lover of the turf. He was on the judges' stand on the closing day of the races at the territorial fair (it is bona fide "trotting" which they have down here); and the graphic account of that Saturday's trot, which appears later on, is entirely his own.

I went out one day to the valley corral near "Five Points" on the road to the fair grounds. Shortly after our arrival, Friend McDermott, of

MCDERMOTT & PAGE,<sup>44</sup> well-known sheep men in Maricopa County, both of whom I had previously met, came into

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44. Charles C. McDermott is mentioned as a pioneer of Phoenix, Arizona (Maricopa County), the first notary public for the County and the first clerk of the District Court. Farish, *Arizona*, 6:136, 162, 213.

the enclosure with a fine large mare, on whose weight he solicited guesses from the crowd. Later he led out a horse which would have made a fitting mate for the mare, in a span.

On this creature, too, he desired that the lookers-on should exercise judgment as to his heaviness. The canny Scot (he comes from the neighborhood of Inverness), who, of course, knew the weight of each animal, smiled benevolently upon the guessers as they passed their figures to the tally keeper.

I believe there was one correct guess on the weight of the mare, which tipped the scale at about 1,500, as I recollect. The horse was somewhat heavier. No one was accurate in sizing him up; but the guessing contest afforded great sport all round.

The valley corral, at which stockmen who come into town feed their teams and where one can always get a serviceable rig and a driver, for a ride into the country, and where one who does business with the concern is always treated "white," is owned and managed by

J. M. GARRETT,<sup>45</sup> who resides at 1326 West Polk street.

I cannot say just when Mr. G. came into the far West, but I know that he was running sheep in California in the Centennial year.

In 1901 he was keeping in this territory a flock of Merinos crossed with Rambouillets, and it is such kind of stock which he at present owns.

In recent years he has used Shropshire bucks on at least a portion of his ewe flock, the purpose being to lengthen the staple, get lighter wool, and above all to raise early lambs for market.

The past two years he has sold all the lambs. He aims to keep a ewe till she is six years old.

He usually shears early in February. The average weight of fleece in 1905 was eight pounds; 18½ cents per pound was received for the fleece in that season.

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45. J. M. Garrett. I have no information on this person.

"The wool here, previous to 1905, had not paid the expenses of 'running,' " says Mr. G. "Whenever it is sold below 15 cents per pound, the price is below the cost of production."

The ewes go from the shearing corral to the lambing ground about the 18th to the 20th of February and the lambs soon after begin to appear.

"The crop from the ewes bred," continues Mr. G., "varies according to the season. We've had as many as three dry years consecutively. Our droughts are something terrific. Sometimes we market no more than 60 per cent of lambs from the ewes bred, though in good years we raise 85 per cent and upward. The lambs ought, under favorable circumstances, to weigh at least 67 pounds at Kansas City in June.

"We run here bands of 2,000. Our losses range from 5 per cent to 15 per cent, in different years (including the mutton killed for herders' consumption). Poison is a fruitful cause—loco, wild parsnip, larkspur and grease wood\* (one kind of the last named causes abortion among ewes; another, on the contrary, is good feed). I mark off one-quarter of the value of the bucks, yearly, for depreciation.

"I estimate the cost of running sheep here at \$1.25 to \$1.40 per head, per year."

PHOENIX,<sup>46</sup> the capital of Arizona and county seat of

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\* What is called "grease wood" in Utah, that with the yellow blossoms, is here termed "chico." I do not understand that this poisons sheep, though known to have sometimes caused bloat. The other kind here resembles chenise, if indeed it's not the same shrub known by that name in the North.

*Chenise*: "Four-wing salt-bush, cenizo, chamiso, chamiza, often erroneously called shad-scale and sagebrush. . . . It is highly prized as a browse plant, and the fruits are so relished by livestock that reproduction is often greatly hindered." *Chico*: Iodine bush. Other common names are pickle-weed and chico. "Unpalatable to livestock and eaten only when other feed is lacking." *Greasewood*: "most abundant in northeastern Arizona, where it often covers large areas in pure stands or mixed with Suaeda." *Greasewood*, or creosote bush as it is sometimes called on account of its pungent odor, grows freely on the desert, but has little or no value and cattle will not touch it. Joseph A. Munk, *Arizona Sketches*, p. 117. The Grafton Press, New York, 1905. *Creosote bush*: "Often erroneously called greasewood in Arizona and California." . . . "The Plant ordinarily is not touched by livestock, although it is reported that sheep, especially pregnant ewes, have been killed by partaking of it." Thomas H. Kearney and Robert H. Peebles, and collaborators, *Arizona Flora*, pp. 259, 262, 491. University of California Press, 1951.

46. Phoenix was so named by Jack Swilling at the suggestion of Darrell Duppa who argued that a modern civilization was rising on the ruins of an ancient one even as the



Maricopa, is situated in the heart of Salt river valley, at an altitude of 1,076 feet.

It comprises over 2,000 acres in its corporate limits and is laid out with wide streets and sidewalks. Beautiful parks surround the public buildings, while the residence streets are nicely shaded, and the grounds around many of the tasteful residences are planted with palms, pepper trees, oleanders, evergreens and cacti, and, as earlier remarked, often roses in bloom may be seen in the open, in January.

The city maintains a high, grammar, and five ward schools, in which in 1904 about 1,700 children attended, while 250 were enrolled in private schools.

Twelve church denominations have here houses of worship.

There are four lines of street railway—20 miles of track—which lead out from town in various directions for from two to five miles.

Communication with the most distant points in the outside world is effected through the Western Union and Postal Telegraphs and the long distance telephone line. The city has over 900 subscribers to local telephone exchange.

The water system, for domestic supply (having no connection with the irrigating plant earlier mentioned—Salt river), has a capacity of 3,000,000 gallons per day.

The assessed valuation of city property is \$5,000,000, which is said to represent 60 per cent of the actual value.

There are electric and gas light plants here, the city availing itself of both agencies for illumination.

One morning and two evening dailies are published in Phoenix, all exceedingly meritorious sheets. The morning "Arizona Republican" appears to me to be one of the most

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bird of mythology rose from the ashes stronger and more beautiful than ever. Farish, *Arizona*, 2:253. Wyllys, *Arizona*, pp. 233f. The post office was established on June 15, 1869, with Jack Swilling the first postmaster. Theobald, *Post Offices & Postmasters*, Dike, *Territorial Postoffices*, and Farish, *Arizona*, 6:112f.

A meeting of citizens on October 20, 1870, led to surveying the township by William A. Hancock and the first city lots were offered for sale December 10, 1871. Phoenix was incorporated February 25, 1881. Wyllys, *Arizona*, pp. 235f. The Territorial capital was moved to Phoenix from Prescott in 1889. *Ibid.*, p. 225.

ably conducted papers in the Southwest, or indeed anywhere in the far West.<sup>47</sup> Of course the town can boast a \$25,000 Carnegie library.

Last, but not least, the city has

AN EFFICIENT POLICE FORCE, which, when one considers that the permanent population is 12,000—more cosmopolitan in character than that of any other far western town unless it be Frisco—with a reinforcement of 4,000 to 5,000 tourists and floaters every winter, is, it goes without saying, a desideratum, indeed.

A position upon this force is no sinecure, one may easily believe.

Mr. A. J. Moore,<sup>48</sup> of the day police, is one of the brightest and most sagacious municipal officers in the West. His detective ability is worthy of being recorded by a Conan Doyle, or an Emil Gaboriau.

I learned of an instance of a stranger being once upon a time, in the evening, in a certain section of the town, held up by two avaricious parties who relieved him of watch and valuables; in fact, "cleaned him out." The incident coming to the knowledge of Mr. M. early on the following morning, before noon he had located the foot-pads, and before one o'clock p.m. had restored to the surprised and gratified victim of the hold up every article, intact, of which he had been deprived.

PHOENIX AS A HEALTH RESORT vies with southern California towns in the number of invalid and semi-invalid visitors who throng its ways and occupy temporary abodes within its limits in winter.

And indeed there are substantial reasons why invalids or fancied invalids who can afford the expense may look to the place as a possible Mecca to which they may make a health pilgrimage: a town in a hill-locked valley, whose elevation is less than 1,100 feet, with a subtropical winter atmosphere—a dry air whose mean annual temperature is 69.3 degrees; a

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47. The *Arizona Republican* was established May 18, 1890. S. M. McCowan served as editor from December 1, 1900 to 1909. Estelle Luttrell, "Newspapers and Periodicals of Arizona 1859-1911." University of Arizona, *General Bulletin No. 15* (July 1949).

48. I have no information on A. J. Moore.

region in which frosts are infrequent and light, where chills and malaria are unknown; where, in the ordinary costume in which in January he would appear upon the street, one may, if he chooses, enjoy upon the veranda a four-hour sun bath at least four days in the week.

Phoenix is reached from the north, northwest, middle east and northeast and far east (via Chicago) by the Santa Fe line, this town being at the terminus of the Santa Fe, Prescott & Phoenix branch from Ash Fork. A branch of the Sunset line of the Southern Pacific from Maricopa, 35 miles south, also reaches Phoenix.<sup>49</sup>

DURING THE TERRITORIAL FAIR. I arrived in Phoenix, via the S.F., P. & P., some time in the early hours after midnight of December 28, 1905. The fair would continue two days longer, and the city was yet full of visitors. The hotels and rooming houses were packed to repletion. This is saying much more than appears upon the face of the statement, for in addition to one mammoth and three or four other commodious hotels, there are 12 or 15 sizable establishments, some of them styled hotels, which make a specialty of "furnished rooms," without board, and finally a score of private families have each from one to four rooms which are always to let during at least a portion of the year.

A round of several hotels demonstrated the futility of the hope of finding a resting place for one who was unfamiliar with the loci of rooming houses.

The courteous clerk at the Commercial—the last place investigated—advised me to make myself comfortable by the fire till morning, when he was sure that application to the board of trade would result in my satisfactorily establishing myself. (They had a list of all places in town.)

However, an hour later, the telephone bell rang, and after some parley between the clerk and the party at the other end, the former remarked that I could secure a bed at 227 No. 7th, though there were no single rooms vacant. This

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49. For the Ashfork to Phoenix railroad, see footnote 14.

was a mile away on the east side, but he obligingly called a hack to convey me thither.

At the place aforesaid I slept till daylight. On the following day at the same domicile I was able to engage a room, which I occupied during my stay in Phoenix.

This is a large, square, two-story cement house, with massive double-deck verandas, front and rear and at least five entrances, situated in spacious grounds, several hundred feet from the street, reached by a driveway which is bordered on the south side by a thick hedge of oleanders growing between the fence and a row of tall pepper trees.

In a rear enclosure are a pair of Shetland ponies, and sometimes a cow or two, and almost always there is a team before the two south doors, for the proprietress, who owns a hotel and a cottage in town, a ranch in the outskirts and I know not how many Jersey cows and other stock, is a very busy woman, and is therefore necessarily much on the wing.

I attended the fair on the two following days. The extensive show grounds of the Territorial Fair Association, with well laid out track and with accommodations for the best winter care of thoroughbred horses in training, are out on the smooth plain, about three miles from Centre street, the great business thoroughfare of Phoenix.

I wish at the outset to remark that on a sunshiny day no finer landscape scene can be conceived by the mind of any lover of nature than will meet his eye when leaning upon the low fence which on the west side separates the race track from the strip of ground extending between the fence and the great driveway which leads across the park from the entrance gate.

The eye sweeps over the turf, beyond the limit of the arena in which fleet-footed equines are straining their nerves to win laurels for their owners, amid the deafening huzzas of a thousand spectators on the grand stand, far over the plain on which Phoenix sits among palms and cacti, far over the smiling ranch country with its emerald fields,

to the mountain range where each conoid peak, reflecting a dark "azul," glistens in the sunlight.

Ranged along on the aforesaid strip between the race course and the great driveway were the exhibitors' buildings. Of these the one which first engaged the attention as one entered the grounds was that which contained

**THE MINERAL EXHIBIT.** Here was an epitome of the geological and mineralogical story of Arizona. Here were illustrated the volcanic, metamorphic and aqueous formations—ancient lava, granite, sandstone, clay and the sand and gravel produced by attrition and decomposition.

Here were silex and silicates galore, including masses of beautiful quartz crystals—typical hexagonal prisms surmounted by hexagonal pyramids—likewise fine specimens of silicate of copper.

The exhibit of sulphides, copper, lead and molybdenum, bronze-hued chalcopyrite, paler iron pyrites, galena (always a percentage of silver associated with it) with steel gray lustre, and molybdenite with a softer tint of the same hue, was truly fine.

There were numerous specimens of native copper, and a unique display of carbonates—beautiful masses of velvet green malachite and minute crystals of azurite (blue carbonate of copper).

Carbonate of lime was here with rhomboidal facets; the exquisitely beautiful "Mexican onyx," and translucent fluor spar.

Here also were shown gold dust, gold in veins, gold associated with other minerals, and silver in various forms.

Fruit and vegetables, honey and preserves were displayed in the next building. All the "tropical" fruits of which one ever heard were in evidence; as fine specimens, too, as were ever gathered in Florida, California, Cuba or Brazil.

The Arizona olives are calculated to astonish one visiting the territory for the first time, and the sight of the pickles

and of the oil made here is a revelation of the possibilities of productions in this field.

All the deciduous fruits were at hand, as were likewise preserved and dried specimens of the same, along with jars of honey.

The vegetable exhibit embraced creditable specimens of everything legumious, "Murphies," onions, turnips, cabbages, cauliflowers, fruit of the eggplant, radishes, celery, etc.

Farther on was

**THE POULTRY EXHIBIT.** When I first looked in the awards had been made; the prize winners had been designated.

The collection of hens, Leghorns, brown and white, Plymouth Rock, Black Spanish and Black Minorca; of turkeys, hens and cocks; of peahens and peacocks (the latter spreading their gorgeous fans and sedulously averting their eyes from their feet); and of ducks and geese, was bewildering.

So much of intense interest in every department was forced upon the attention of visitors at this time that even a non-specialist observer, perfectly unbiased, would find it difficult to award the palm to any particular exhibit, even if he were inclined to make comparisons (which practice wise men long ago pronounced odious); but for myself, while heartily enjoying everything that I witnessed, even to a picture of a huge gila monster in one of the buildings, and being desirous of paying deserved tribute to both the worthy contributors and the management, I cannot refrain from expressing my admiration of the superb

**CATTLE EXHIBIT** at this first territorial fair.

The bulls, all monarchs in their way, whether Durham, Galloway, Holstein, Jersey or Whiteface, were the incarnation, the living realization of the highest ideals of the most advanced breeders, in respect to size, shape, symmetry and vigor. These seemed to me to be as nearly perfect types as it is possible for breeding skill to achieve.

The cows\* in each class, the fawn-colored Jerseys and

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\* Standing midway in the group, like a lost stray, towering above all others, her long curved horns projecting upward like elks' antlers, was the largest and tallest range cow that I ever saw.

other varieties of Channel Island cattle; the red and the roan Durhams; the sleek, dark, red-coated Whitefaces; the Holsteins, glossy black and white, and so on to the end of the chapter, were marvels, I may say "dreams."

Some one will perhaps say: "Oh, yes, but you saw the 'cream' of the herds!" Of course, I did. When any one desires to acquire an idea of what is being done along these lines in any section of the country, he wants to see "the best," as showing the aim of the breeders.

**OTHER SIGHTS AND SOUNDS.** In an adjacent shed were the swine, a very creditable exhibition of several breeds of porkers. I do not recollect that I noticed among these any Tamworths—those red-haired, long-snouted fellows, which Prof. Griffith of Colorado Agricultural College claims are the bacon hogs par excellence.

In the same shed were large, long-eared mules, which were busily trumpeting for the edification of visitors who were viewing the pigs.

**THE RACES DURING THE FAIR** were undoubtedly the greatest ever held in the Southwest. There were something over one hundred blooded horses stabled on the grounds during the race meeting, most of them coming long distances to compete in the contests.

Among this number were many noted animals, several holding or having held "world's records." California stables were represented, and

**THE GREAT ZALOCH**, 2.05, the pride of the Pacific coast, was shipped in the day the racing commenced.

The efforts of Zaloch to defeat Hazel Patch, 2.02 $\frac{3}{4}$ , on Tuesday and again on Saturday, will go down in racing annals as the greatest races of 1905. In the race for the Bisbee purse of \$1,000, on the second day of the meeting, Zaloch won the first heat in 2.07, making a new track record for Arizona, but in the second and third heats Hazel Patch was first at the wire in 2.08 and 2.07 $\frac{3}{4}$ . At the conclusion of the race it was officially announced that these were the three fastest heats ever driven.

Each day the racing began at 1 o'clock and continued until dark. The races were all well filled—from four to ten horses starting in every race, with the exception of the Zaloch-Hazel Patch match—and every event was hotly contested.

ON THE CLOSING DAY, Saturday, the little two-year-old pacer, Paul D. Kelley, owned by W. C. Greene,<sup>50</sup> the "Copper King," made a new world's record for the year for a two-year-old, pacing a mile in 2.15. Not satisfied with this performance, the little horse went out and paced the second heat in 2.14 $\frac{1}{4}$ . It will be remembered that Paul D. Kelley, held the world's yearling record as a pacer.

When Zaloch and Hazel Patch met on Saturday, the management announced that in addition to the \$600 purse offered for the race, they would give \$50 for each half second that either horse would lower the record made by Zaloch (2.07) on Tuesday.

In the first heat the two horses went the first quarter in thirty seconds (two minutes' gait) and to the half in 1.00 $\frac{1}{2}$ , and finished in 2.05 $\frac{1}{2}$ , Zaloch losing by a length.

The second heat also went to Hazel, in 2.05 $\frac{1}{4}$ . In this heat it had been previously arranged for a runner to pace the leading horse the last quarter, so when Hazel drew away from Zaloch at the half, the runner came home with him.

The last and deciding heat was very close, but, as in the case of the others, went to Hazel Patch. The time in this heat was slower than in the first two.

Many of the trainers and drivers insist that the Phoenix track is one of the fastest in America.

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50. "In 1888 Senator W. A. Clark of Montana, began a great copper mine out of a silver-gold property known as the United Verde at Jerome. Ten years later Colonel W. C. Greene was instrumental in starting systematic exploitation of long-known ore deposits in northern Sonora that became the Greene-Cananea enterprise." A. B. Parson, "Sixty Years of Copper Mining in the Southwest," University of Arizona, *General Bulletin No. 5*, p. 32 (July 1, 1940).

"The man who had developed it [Cananea Copper in Sonora, Mexico] and made a fortune for himself and backers was William C. Greene, an Arizona cattleman, well and affectionately known as Colonel Bill." John A. Rockfellow, *Log of an Arizona Trail Blazer*, p. 160. Reprint by Arizona Silhouettes, Tucson, Arizona, 1955.



At this fair were the usual "side" enterprises, including the cheap lunch counter, where, a piece of pie being called for, a waitress brings it in her hand and drops it upon the board before the patron as though she were feeding chickens.

The cosmopolitan character of Phoenix is no more remarkable than certain

LOCAL IDIOSYNCRASIES, which one cannot fail to notice. Perhaps these are the natural and logical outgrowth of the racial characteristics, temperaments, and various modes of thought of the animate "bundles of habits" called men and women, which have their being here.

These peculiarities are psychologically interesting, for often they involve paradoxes.

Now if one says a fraction of inhabitants are "money mad," some one will respond: "That is a characteristic of the age." Truly, but in most places people so afflicted will sell their cake to the highest bidders; or if they reject all bids as unsatisfactory, they are on the watch for future opportunities, and are ready to close at a price. But here, a portion of the people seem to want at once to eat their cake and keep it, and expect to do so.

Some parties who either keep rooming houses or who have tenements to let, look for revenue from tourists and visitors, who for the most part are seeking rest and health. These landlords or landladies, as the case may be, expect to collect a good round toll\*—all they can get from their guests. Yet they cause signs to be placed in their halls which inform applicants that "No sick are wanted."

Some owners of houses who are eager to let them will "turn down" apparently desirable would-be tenants on ascertaining that they have lung disease.

Sometimes such applicants as cannot afford hotel rates for an extended period will be obliged to tent somewhere on the outskirts. (Some one says no tents are allowed to be pitched within the city limits.)

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\* During the fair a dollar a night was in instances charged for a single bed in a room containing another (double) bed.

On the other hand, some proprietors, especially women of property, who own mansions, will let their large dwellings, and move into smaller ones—even put up with inconvenience for the sake of lucre.

In the matter of greed of gain, so far as business women, widows, or women who possess property in their sole right (*femmes sole*), are concerned, there is no difference in degree between the Mexicana who may dwell in an apartment in an adobe range, and a white dame who abides, when she wishes, in a fine mansion.

NOVELTIES. Although there are two opera houses in Phoenix, the community at large are by no means enthusiastic patrons of "pay shows." Quite the contrary, I should say, from what I have observed, that the chances of a theatrical company reaping a harvest here, at any time in the year, would be slimmer than in almost any other place of similar size in the West, and yet it would be hard to find a community of individuals in whose constitution the dramatic instinct, or who more ardently delight in such "telling" street displays as furnish opportunity for the "free" gratification of such instinct.

The other night, during the fair, a curious looking group of men were seen upon Center street, at intervals; sometimes they would drop into a saloon for a drink, sometimes visit a hotel and pace around the office. Their appearance was the occasion of drawing a dense crowd at different points where they halted in the course of their rounds.

This group comprised several "penitentiary convicts" clad in the regulation striped garb, each handcuffed and wearing a heavy chain with weighty ball attached, and the guards of the "prisoners," armed to the teeth, were elegantly uniformed and plumed.

One's first impression was that these were promptly recovered prison birds who were on the eve of being restored to the hospitable pen which they had ungratefully deserted, so realistic was the "makeup," although the act of taking

them in for liquor seemed somewhat incongruous; but investigation elicited the fact that the "officers" were

SHRINERS, the "convicts" being acolytes who were to be initiated on that evening.

Later these candidates, then garbed in flowing white robes, were seen harnessed to small but very stout wagons (hardly more than toy vehicles in size) in which were seated uniformed old members of the order, who in this manner, I suppose, were being drawn to the lodge room.

The whole affair, from first to last, was replete with dramatic interest and humor; some of the remarks of convicts, officers and passengers were really witty. The throng of lookers-on was highly susceptible to the influence which the scenes, out doors and in, excited, but in the case of many of them, the most loudly heralded play which might have been billed for that night, at the opera house, would have failed to appeal to their pockets.

THE SALVATION ARMY, which of an evening, with colors flying, bugles sounding and drums beating, wheels with military precision before a saloon and kneels in the dirt, to pray, usually draws well, and I am bound to say that the crowd does not invariably scatter when the contribution is solicited. But while with many, the dramatic instinct is strong, yet for the most part they desire to gratify it in a field in which they themselves shall be actors, even though this may be in a subordinate capacity, as, for example, at a "revival," which at this time of year is apt to be in progress.

Finally, here palmists, "clairvoyants" and "seers" are usually able to make a good living.

I have been informed that when a delegation of ostriches appeared at

A BIRD CONVENTION to have their status determined, the chairman of the feathered assembly inquired of a huge male in the embassy: "Can you uns sing?" "No," was the reply. "Can you uns fly?" "No." "Then you're not birds!"

"But," rejoined the big black feathered male of the ostrich tribe, "our females lay eggs, and big ones, too!"

"So do feminine snakes and turtles," said the chairman. "You uns are not birds, you are not reptiles, not fishes. You must be beasts. Get out."

The ostrich spokesman, having previously turned to follow the lead of his retiring suite, paused, and lifting his head quite seven feet from the ground, said in a menacing tone:

"There is one thing we can do that you uns can't. We can kick forward!"

Whereupon he viciously thrust forth his right foot, to the consternation of the frightened assembly, which immediately took wing, uttering plaintive cries.

It has happened that a male ostrich on one or another of the "Phoenix-American Ostrich Farm" ranches has "kicked forward" with such effect that a party in the path of his foot has forever stopped breathing. In this way two men have been killed. It is now deemed necessary for a keeper, if he must enter the enclosure among these birds, to be armed with a formidable fork.

It is said that a touch of the steel to their hides is sufficient to check any belligerent attempt, and that a keeper is safe enough, unless (which seldom happens) a number of the ostriches should make a combined attack.

However, the females are gentle and docile, though to the last degree inquisitive. They will even stop feeding to examine you, look you all over, taking in a few minutes various points of view, from each of which they closely scan you.

When I entered the enclosure of the

OSTRICH SHOW FARM\* at the west end of the Washington avenue car line, a mile and a half from Center street, the other morning, the 30 there present were breakfasting upon moistened chopped alfalfa, which had been placed for them in a long trough.

The most of them were in a large yard separated from

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\* The company has three ranches (one of 1,200 acres) ten or fifteen miles away, on which it has 1,500 birds.

the passage-way by a wire netting fence. Three or four were in a smaller enclosure; and a pair were feasting by themselves in a yet smaller yard. They seemed to me to eat in pairs; the mature birds (four years old), at least; perhaps the young ones (seven, eight and nine months old). That is to say, usually a male and a female head would be in close proximity at the moment of taking up the morsel, and these swallowed simultaneously. There would be a slight interval of space between each couple, though there were perhaps upward of 20 at the same long trough.

Of course I am not sure that this is their invariable custom, but I know that ostriches are monogamic and are very "constant" in their mating. If one dies, the other seldom forms a new association.

The male, having chosen his mate, cleaves to her to the end. These birds in their native habitat are noted for longevity; barring accidents, they live a century.

After the females had apparently either satisfied their curiosity or had postponed further consideration of the matter, they resumed their repast, appropriating morsels at a rapid rate, their bills making a cadence of taps as they struck the wood.

At length they paused from their meal. The females started in a procession, single file, around the yard, at last ranging by the trough. After a little, the males joined them, and the whole body of them marched in good order and in broad phalanx across their little park; then swinging about they returned to the front and scattered as if they had had an order, inaudible to human ears, to break ranks.

Ostriches at maturity weigh between 300 and 400 pounds and are very strong. They have even been broken to harness, and, attached to a buggy, driven like horses.

At breeding time, each pair is placed in an enclosure. The birds make a nest by scooping out with their breast bones a hole two feet deep by about four feet wide, in which the female, every other day, lays an egg (weighing three pounds and upward), until these number 12 to 15. Then they

begin to "sit" upon the eggs, the male bird taking the nest every night.

The birds carefully turn the eggs each day.

After 42 days the chicks arrive, each being the size of the common domestic hen.

To-day, on all ostrich farms, the incubator is used for hatching the eggs; the parent birds, therefore, are relieved of those duties which are incumbent upon them on African deserts.

"Plucking" the feathers is done by cutting, not pulling. They are taken regularly, irrespective of the season, every eight months. After two months the ends of the quills left in the wings are dead, and are drawn without pain to the bird.

One will be surprised to see in the showcases in the office at the "show farm," the many forms which the feathers are made to assume by the skill of the manufacturers.

"The Phoenix-American Ostrich Farm" claims the largest breeding and feather raising ranch in America, if not in the world.

Mrs. Pearson, of New York city, owns the majority of the stock in the company. Indeed, I believe she was the original projector of the enterprise. New York is the headquarters of the company.

To proceed, as I am about to do, from ostriches to

INDIANS is rather a queer transition, but I have essayed to give some account of what may be seen in and around Phoenix, and one radiating out from the centre of the town comes upon the birds earlier than upon the "sannups" and their dusky sisters.

As to the relative habits of the "kicking" birds, and those mammals\* which in classification we donominate "red men," I believe that I have shown in earlier letters that the latter—favored creatures above all other beings as they are—have no occasion to "kick."

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\* Both, today, are being subjected to experimental processes whose aim is "civilized domestication."

Without considering the thousand and one other blessings which year in and year out are being showered upon them by our beneficent government, one who may be still in doubt of the correctness of the assertion that the Indians have no cause for "kicking" will, I believe, yield at least a reluctant assent to the proposition, when he has observed the workings of the Phoenix

INDIAN INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL,<sup>51</sup> in which over 700 pupils, representing 30 tribes (many of the children the fruit of "white" and Indian amalgamation), are being taught manual dexterity and how to be self-supporting,—the boys, agriculture, wood turning, iron work, etc.; the girls, domestic economy and various arts feminine in their adaptability.

All are receiving a sound, substantial English education. Music and drawing are elements of the curriculum of the school.

I was so fortunate as to reach the establishment before the close of the morning session, and when I passed into the class-room of the highest grade, I confess that what I saw was a revelation to me.

Here were 30 to 40 young men and young women, clean and neatly attired, having intelligent countenances, a diligent manner, and a bearing which seemed to me to indicate scholarly aim and a desire "to know."

I was particularly impressed by the air of quiet industry which pervaded the room, and the respectful consideration manifested by the pupils toward their teacher. The order was perfect.

They had finished an exercise in percentage, and were engaged in letter writing or composition. The blackboard work as well as that on paper was very neat and creditable.

I am inclined to believe that the adage, "As is the teacher so is the school," is essentially true, and that it is to be taken with hardly a limitation. Certainly, the excellent condition

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51. The Phoenix Indian Industrial School was opened September, 1891, with 61 employees and 763 pupils (789?). Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report 1906*, 59 cong., 2 sess., hse. doc. 5, pp. 42, 185 [ser. 5118].

of this grade of the school, it was palpable to me, was due to the skill (professional adaptability), energy, conscientiousness and "faith" of the teacher.

This excellent woman, who has for the past 15 years been engaged in Indian instruction, knows how to invest with interest any subject which she undertakes to teach, with the result that a general interest is awakened among her pupils, and their later proficiency is a foregone conclusion. For there is no such thing as an inability to learn anything which it is desirable to learn, unless there is an inability on the part of the pupil to attend.

Again, this admirable woman has a faith in the future harvest which is to result from the seed which is here being sown, which is fit to move mountains. She declares that many young men and young women graduates of this and other schools with which she has been familiar are occupying good positions and are good citizens. She referred, for example, to one young woman\* whom I had passed on the walk without, as I entered, who was going from one of the classrooms to her residence. She had graduated, I believe, at Albuquerque,<sup>52</sup> N.M., had earlier attended other Indian schools, and was now an efficient teacher in one of the grades.

I am eager to record her testimony, for I have been skeptical concerning the lasting results of educational experiments upon pureblood Indians.

I have observed among northern tribes that youths and maidens, however tractable they might be in term time, generally at the close sped away to the greenwood tree or the prairie brush and resumed blankets, paint and feathers, and usually, thereafter, viewed the habits, customs, es-

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\* It seemed to me that this young woman showed but slight trace of Indian ancestry.

52. The Albuquerque Indian School opened January 1, 1881, under the auspices of the Presbyterian Church. Intended at first for the Pueblo Indian, it became a general boarding school for Indians and was taken over by the Federal Government. Lillie G. McKinney, *History of the Albuquerque Indian School*. Master of Arts Thesis, University of New Mexico, 1934. For a general discussion of the problem of Indian education see Loring Benson Priest, *Uncle Sam's Stepchildren*, chap. 11. Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, 1942.



pecially the amenities, of civilization, with lofty disdain.

I have seen a girl, then lately from a northern California school (Indian), sitting upon the floor in a rancher's kitchen in southern Oregon, her blankets wrapped around her head and shoulders, her eyes deepset in her ochre stained face, gazing into vacancy.

I have seen a young Cheyenne buck at a pow-wow in Montana (a splendid animal), in traditional Indian toggery, wrought into frenzy, in the course of the "Omaha" dance, as complete a type of the early savage as ever existed. Yet this party was but recently from the Carlisle (Pa.) Indian Academy.<sup>53</sup>

These are only sample instances among many.

As to the "half breeds" and those of mixed parentage generally, it seems to me that they usually manifest the worst characteristics of both races.

But in this school near Phoenix a large proportion (I should say the largest part) of the pupils are of mixed race. In the cases of many of them the degree of the Caucasian strain is such as not only to have given their skin the pale Caucasian cast, but also to have completely transformed the Indian features.

In this class-room were "white" boys and girls whom no one outside of Maricopa county, uninformed as to the circumstances, would dream were Indians.

There was in the class an albino girl who had not a solitary Indian facial characteristic. Her white hair had a sort of crinkly effect. I am told she came from Mexico. It needs but a trace of Indian origin to render a boy or girl eligible to this school; but the candidate need not show this "trace;" attested facts in regard to family and ancestry establish his eligibility.

A large part if not all of the pupils answer to Spanish names. For example, the "office boy," whom the lady teacher of the highest grade kindly detailed to show me about the

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53. The Carlisle Indian School opened October, 1879, in deserted army barracks at Carlisle, Pa., under direction of Capt. Richard Henry Pratt. *Ibid.*, p. 143.

grounds, to designate the purposes of the various buildings, and especially to see that I was at the falling in and alignment of the companies (from A to G) when they were to march to the refectory, was called Francisco Romero.

Francisco was a bright, affable lad, about 11 years old, I should say, who appeared to me to be one of those chaps who absorb knowledge as a sponge does water. There was a question-asking contest between us until the boy himself had to get into line and march away to his mess. It was give and take between us, save for one interesting interruption. This was when Fernando Rodriguez, about the same age as Francisco, came forward from his company group to participate in the conversation and to second his comrade's efforts for my entertainment. These laddies are in the same company before which I stood while watching the gathering of the pupils on either side of the plaza; the girls on the west, the boys on the east side, ranged in long columns on the broad walks which on each side extend between the plaza and their dormitories.

These columns were composed of companies whose members ranged from little chicks in A (I should say seven or eight years old) to young men and women of 20 or more years in G.

All the "muchachos" in Francisco's company were gazing at their two comrades and myself and looked as though they would like to draw nearer, but I suppose Fernando Rodriguez was less bashful, and then, perhaps, the majority of the lads appreciated that the confusion which would result from a rush to the spot would almost constitute a breach of discipline.

At last the bugle call was heard and rank and file were formed. As the notes ceased, the roll of the companies was called (the orderlies and all of the company officers are pupils), the boys and girls answering "Here," in clear tones.

Then, at the command of the adjutant or officer of the day (one of the superintendent's staff), both columns faced in the direction of the line of march. At a second command

they proceeded with rhythmical step (with musical accompaniment), girls and boys to their respective entrances, to

THE GREAT DINING HALL. Try to conceive a well-lighted well-ventilated, well-appointed hall, capable of comfortably seating 1,200 people, with spacious aisles for passage on either side through the centre; a rostrum at the north end, large enough for a military band and three or four speakers.

Now suppose the spaces between the aisles to be occupied by tables at each of which eight, perhaps ten, may sit at "meat." Then picture between seven and eight hundred healthy boys and girls (for each of whom the government appropriates \$160 annually), systematically distributed about the tables, awaiting the saying of "grace," the lady teachers in charge of the girls on the west side, and male representatives of the corps on duty with the boys on the east, and you will have some notion of the scene you would witness if you dropped into the refectory at the moment a meal was served.

Here is a well-instructed corps of boy and girl waiters in white aprons, who, having previously placed upon the tables platters of meat and vegetables (this course to be followed later by some kind of dessert), are thenceforth on the watch to replenish the stock when they shall observe hands raised at the tables, which signifies that some one or other platter or plate is void.

The hearty (not greedy) work of the boys and girls at table was refreshing to see.

After the repast, the youngsters with a satisfied air formed in the aisles and marched out into the open.

As, bringing up the rear of the boys' column, in company with Mr. T. A. Wurm,\* the music teacher at this institution, I passed from the hall, I found Francisco and Fernando awaiting my coming. Both lads shook hands with me, and expressed the hope that they might hear from me, some day in the months to come.

*The Old Observer*

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\* This gentleman was 15 years or more in the army and was three times in the Philippines. I think he was a musician in the service. He is now on the retired list.

## Book Reviews

*Forty years in El Paso.* Original manuscript by W. W. Mills, first published in 1901. Introduction and notes by Rex W. Strickland. Illustrations from drawings by Tom Lea. Design by Carl Hertzog, publisher. El Paso, 1962. \$7.00.

In the original edition W. W. Mills inserted, in place of an introduction, the following warning: "These writings are meant to be truthful but they are too rambling and egotistical to possess much historical value. . . . Much that he (the author) was tempted to write has been omitted out of consideration for the living and the dead and their relations. The book will have little interest except for those who know something of El Paso. . . . For such only it is written."

That this warning is still valid detracts not at all from the value of the book. Everyone interested in the history of the Southwest knows something of El Paso. His reminiscences furnish a source from which history is built and are of especial value since they include a period previous to the establishment of news media in an area extending hundreds of miles in all directions from El Paso. Mills was truthful but far too opinionated and self-centered to report events objectively. He was a confirmed Unionist and Republican; both minority parties. His enemies (and he had many) had few redeeming qualities; his friends could do no wrong. A personally ambitious politician, he expected those for whom he had been influential in obtaining governmental employment to become his adherents and supporters forever and complains bitterly when they joined or furnished the opposition to his aspirations.

Reminiscences written late in life offer an opportunity for self-glorification which few authors are able to resist but, in this respect, Mills was extremely moderate. Intense partizanship sometimes produced overstatement of fact. His description of the nondescript soldiery commanded by Major

Lynde at Fort Fillmore as "The flower of the United States army" is certainly open to question.

His book consists of some forty articles, loosely connected. The general tone is autobiographical. At least some of the omissions made out of respect for the living and the dead also benefitted the author himself. He makes no mention of the Chamizal dispute, which was an international issue at the time, although he certainly had first-hand information. Perhaps, being in the diplomatic service at the time, he wisely refrained.

The value of the original edition has been greatly enhanced by the introduction, appendix and profuse notes prepared by Rex Strickland, the present editor. The numerous errors in dates and the mis-spelled names have also been corrected.

In addition to its historical value, this is a beautifully prepared and printed volume and a distinct ornament to any library.

Mesilla Park, N. M.

ADLAI FEATHER

*The Mountain Meadows Massacre.* By Juanita Brooks. Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1962. Pp. xiii, 316, index. \$5.95.

The Stanford University Press in 1950 published the first edition of Mrs. Brooks' excellent study of the Mountain Meadows Massacre. Now that the first edition is out of print the University of Oklahoma Press has brought out a revised edition of the work.

The new edition has been spread over more pages but embodies only a few more words. There has been no change in the argument or in the conclusions. Acknowledgments have been added with an explanation for their omission in the first edition: ". . . because I felt I must bear full responsibility for the first edition . . ." Only a small amount of evidence has been added. The occasional re-wording has

been stylistic and of minor importance. Chapter headings have been inserted. Notes have been moved from the end of the chapter to the foot of the page. A few illustrations have been added. Seventeen items have been added to the bibliography, and one item has been dropped. The index has been improved. The new edition reports a few post-1950 developments, such as "more and more visitors each year" at the massacre site, and the reinstatement in 1961 of John D. Lee to "membership and former blessings" by the First Presidency and the Council of Twelve Apostles of the L.D.S. Church.

While the second edition is better than the first, the changes are not sufficiently substantial to make it necessary for most owners of the first edition to acquire the second.

LeRoy Hafen correctly has called the 1857 massacre of an emigrant party from Arkansas and Missouri "the worst stain on Utah history." Mrs. Brooks, "a loyal and active member" of the L.D.S. Church, believes that she has done her church a service by telling how and why Mormons assisted by Indians slaughtered more than 120 men, women and children whom they had first persuaded to give up their arms under a promise of protection. Mrs. Brooks makes a great effort to analyze Mormon psychology of 1857, yet states bluntly that "when the facts are marshaled, there is not justification enough for the death of a single individual."

Hard for some Mormons to accept is Mrs. Brooks' unavoidable conclusion that "Brigham Young was accessory after the fact. . . ." Young, who did not know of the massacre until after it had happened, tried to cover up the facts and to blame the Indians. After many years of mounting pressure he permitted John D. Lee, not the most blameworthy, to be convicted by an all-Mormon jury and to be put to death as the sole scapegoat.

Notably missing from the acknowledgments is any reference to the L.D.S. Church Historian's Office. And after twelve years the following comment, with respect to Mormon Church officials, stands unchanged on page 217: "In

their concern to let the matter die, they do not see that it can never be finally settled until it is accepted as any other historical incident, with a view only to finding the facts. To shrink from it, to discredit any who try to inquire into it, to refuse to discuss it, or to hesitate to accept all the evidence fearlessly is not only to keep it a matter of controversy, but to make the most loyal followers doubt the veracity of their leaders in presenting other matters of history."

Mrs. Brooks is to be commended for remarkable resourcefulness in running down evidence, a passion for justice, and rare objectivity.

University of Wyoming

T. A. LARSON

*Forty Miles a Day on Beans and Hay.* By Don Rickey, Jr. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963. Pp. xiv, 381. Illust., bibliog., index. \$5.95.

This is a well-researched book that seeks to synthesize the thoughts and emotions of the enlisted man of the United States regular army on the post-Civil War frontier. The author, Don Rickey, Jr., rejects the stereotype of the frontier soldier as either a "knight errant of the West" or as a "brutalized and degraded oppressor of noble red men," then proceeds to de-romanticize his "routinely-warped" subject.

After a brief but competent summary of the Indian conflicts of the post-Civil War frontier, Dr. Rickey presents fifteen chapters that range from the processes and traumas of enlistment to the behavior of men under fire. Other chapters deal with such topics as "Privates, Noncoms, and Officers," "Recreation, Relaxation, and Outside Interests," "Campaign Preparation, Equipment, and the Hostiles." In short, the book surveys practically every aspect of enlisted life in the frontier army from 1865 until the 1890's.

Such an enterprise posed considerable problems, both in organization and in the election of expository material. The problem of organization should be kept in mind by the

reader who becomes annoyed by what often seems a pot-pourri of quotations and anecdotes. More valid grounds for criticism lie in the presentation of expository material because, in dealing with a great mass of detail, the author seems unwilling to discard a single note. His desire for clarity leads him to clog his prose with superfluous names and dates. But, despite repetition and a sometimes didactic tone, the book is readable and certainly informative.

The volume is adequately indexed and illustrated. Twelve interesting photographs of frontier troops (mostly from the 1880's and 90's) were extracted from archival collections. The maps are of acceptable quality although of questionable value in a study of this type. One map, bearing only tribal names and the dates of Indian wars, is so general as to be almost useless. Another shows prominent sites of the Sioux War, 1876-1881. Some readers will wonder why the Sioux War was singled out for cartography. A third map, on the other hand, that depicts major forts, towns, and battlesites of the trans-Mississippi West, is worthwhile.

Of much more significance is an annotated bibliography. Here the reader discovers that Dr. Rickey used primary materials almost exclusively—most of them unpublished documents from important collections. The value of the book is further enhanced by the author's effort to fill a literary void left by a near-illiterate frontier soldiery. That is, Rickey sent questionnaires to over three hundred veterans of the Indian Wars. Some of them also furnished accounts of their experiences in the army. On the negative side, the bibliography and footnotes reveal perhaps too heavy a reliance on materials drawn from the wars of the northern plains. Moreover, the volume might have benefited from the writings of civilians and a broader use of government documents from the serial set (reports of the Secretary of War are cited only for 1876 and 1891). Nor does the bibliography include the books of Generals Nelson A. Miles, Oliver O. Howard, or James Parker. Also absent are John C.



Bourke's invaluable *Diary* and *On the Border with Crook*, as well as *On the Border with Mackenzie* by Robert G. Carter. The observations of such officers might be of value. But their omission does not undermine the soundness of a bibliography that rests on a firm foundation of unpublished materials.

Both "popular" reader and scholar will find that *Forty Miles a Day on Beans and Hay* provides many insights into the character of the regulars who served in the post-Civil War West. Certainly it is a book that any Indian Wars buff will want on his bookshelf.

Citrus Heights, California

LESSING NOHL

*Military Governments in California, 1846-1850.* By Theodore Grivas. Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1963. Pp. 247. Bibliog., illust., index.

Military government is no new experience for the United States in the second half of the 20th century, but it was a century ago when the country established a three-and-a-half-year period of military occupation in California based, in part, on experiences in Florida, Louisiana, and New Mexico. Professor Grivas takes us into two principal aspects of the problem: the extent and manner of the occupation and its theoretical or legal-theoretical side.

Instead of giving us first the facts of the occupation in the light of policy directives from Washington, if there were any, and their application by the military governors so that one might judge their success or failure, the author starts with theoretical definitions of military government—and martial law—drawn from writers of the 1860's and 1890's (William Whiting, William E. Birkhimer, George W. Davis), then correlates the history of California's occupation to them for the purpose of determining whether or not it was true to form. This creates certain difficulties for

a reader in terms of existential history, which had, to this reviewer's mind, better been left out.

The sections of the book that describe historical events are very good. The personalities of the officers acting as military governors are properly drawn—General Stephen Watts Kearny, General Bennett Riley, Colonel Richard B. Mason, and the more famous William C. C. Claiborne, Governor of the Louisiana Territory. The rivalries among commanders and their problems with various factions of the public are of considerable interest and the author has highlighted their place in their day to day workings of a military occupation. Yet what escapes a reader is the sense of a comprehensive military government policy in either its directival or applied form.

Less successful as history is the author's attempt to integrate systematically California's history from 1846 to 1850 into a theoretico-legal construct of the type now popular in American political science. It leads the author to assert what is not. Although Davis' 1898 treatise on American military law is Professor Grivas' authority, this in no way alters the fact that to call all military government arbitrary government and government by fiat is untenable, especially where parliamentary democratic governments are concerned. Supreme Court Justice R. B. Curtis has stated the position, and the fact, more accurately, in his work of 1862 on the executive power in the United States, when he said that the military commander possesses and exercises his powers, not in spite of the Constitution and laws of the United States, but in virtue of it and in strict subordination to it. A military governor who uses arbitrary force may, by the practice of military government, be held to account for his acts before a judicial tribunal. Except when governments, as a matter of national policy, conduct their affairs on complete behaviorist principles, military government cannot be despotic, or arbitrary.

William Whiting gives perhaps the true rendering of the

making of American military government in his *Military Government of Hostile Territory in Time of War* (1864), of which Professor Grivas seems to take no account, when he says that military government rests not alone on the President's powers as Commander-in-Chief, but upon the war powers of Congress, which includes the power to terminate as well as to regulate military government. Professor Grivas' view that military government per se is arbitrary and in its extreme form omnipotent (p. 15) is historically invalid, although undoubtedly acceptable on certain given theoretical definitions.

Because this book is of some importance to both historians and students of military government, as well as to its practitioners, it is this reviewer's opinion that the author's ideas might have been better clarified by a careful editing job.

Norwich University

ALBERT NORMAN

*Bernal Díaz; Historian of the Conquest.* By Herbert Cerwin. Pp. xii, 239. Bibliog., illust., map, index. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963. \$4.95.

For his perceptive writing in *These Are the Mexicans*, author Cerwin is well known. His new work, although it removes him from the twentieth to the sixteenth century, demonstrates that a bit of his heart still lies south of the Rio Grande. Instead of another generalized view of a people, the present volume portrays an individual.

Bernal Díaz entered Mexico as a footsoldier with Cortés. Because of his account of that action, the long-lived conquistador is now remembered as a historian. When he penned his *historia verdadera*, his "little man's" account of the conquest, he had several purposes in mind: deflating the emphasis on the great Cortés, giving credit to the almost anonymous rank-and-file campaigners, and carving a niche for himself. Because Díaz' account of the conquest is so rich with references to its author, it logically serves as point of departure,

indeed warm invitation, to undertake a biographical study of the garrulous old warrior himself.

Cerwin's life of Díaz is the better of the two biographies in English, the other being that by Cunningham-Graham (1915). However, despite the author's willingness to study the major editions of Díaz' history (and many of those who have edited that history have shed light on Díaz), despite Cerwin's willingness to prowl in the archives of Mexico, Guatemala and Spain, despite every effort aimed at revealing Díaz, the doughty conquistador remains a shadowy person. Only in brief snatches does that glow which permeates Díaz' history come to permeate Díaz' biography.

In his evocation of the man and his times, the author is forced, as is any biographer of sixteenth-century figures in Latin America, to fashion an uneven and incomplete mosaic. He is encouraged to speculate quite often. To his credit, it may be said that most of his speculations, generally labeled as such with their "must haves," "probabilities" and "perhaps," result from that disciplined imagination which can be a proper tool of the historian. Sometimes the subject-matter is extraneous, even for a "man-and-times" treatment, e.g. the introduction of the marimba into Guatemala (p. 151). The citations, on occasion, are too skeletal and devoid of precise system. The scaffolding of the historian is too often exhibited to the reader, e.g. "we come across another document" (p. 136), "I have already described how" (p. 171), and "We have proof of this" (p. 196).

The perspective-establishing details, as well as the quotations which add a breathe-of-life air to the text, enrich the volume, as do numerous illustrations. In sum, in matters of style, Cerwin's work falls between two stools, the popular and the scholarly, completely satisfactory to neither, worthy of the attention of both.

The format of the volume bespeaks that excellence long associated with the University of Oklahoma Press.

Nottingham University

C. Harvey Gardiner

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CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Origin of the Name Arizona	
Adlai Feather . . . . .	89
Tlascalans in the Spanish Borderlands	
Marc Simmons . . . . .	101
The Sheep Industry in Arizona, 1906	
Frank D. Reeve, <i>editor</i> . . . . .	111
Historical Society of New Mexico	
President's Report . . . . .	157
Book Reviews . . . . .	160

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## ORIGIN OF THE NAME ARIZONA

By ADLAI FEATHER\*

ALL three of the states carved from the territory taken from Mexico by the treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo and later by the Gadsden Treaty received their romantic names from the legends which induced explorers to visit them and colonists to inhabit them. Less than a dozen years after the conquest of the City of Mexico, stories began to circulate concerning another city as rich or richer which lay far to the north.<sup>1</sup> It was never found but the name of New Mexico (Another Mexico) persisted. The first ships which skirted the western shore of Mexico were manned by sailors who hoped to find the legendary island of California, immensely rich and happy and inhabited by Amazons. The putative island which they discovered proved to be barren and a peninsula but the name, which they had given it in their pristine enthusiasm, survived. The tale of the fantastically rich mine called Arizona lured prospectors and adventurers into the state which now bears that name. They found that the mine had long since been exhausted. No other of similar

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\* Mesilla Park, New Mexico.

1. This city existed under a multitude of names but the rumors which spread among the common people simply mentioned it as "Another Mexico" and on that basis volunteers were recruited to form the looting or colonizing expeditions.

richness was found. With the passing of time, the bitter disappointments connected with all three names have been forgotten.

Dissatisfied with the names which had appeared on maps or had been suggested by collaborators, Lucas finally hit upon Arizona but only after a suggestion of events in which the prime movers were José Francisco Velasco and Charles D. Poston. The former was a public official and author in Sonora; the latter an adventurer and speculator in the Southwest.<sup>2</sup>

Velasco was responsible for bringing the name out of obscurity into fame, largely through a mistake in quoting a previous writer. In 1850 a book, of which he was the author, was published in the City of Mexico. Its appearance created a furore among prospectors, miners, promoters and the general public. Since it was intended to draw attention to the conditions and resources of Sonora, including a great part of the Gadsden Purchase, he devoted one chapter to the minerals of the state in which was included accounts of several notable discoveries of rich placer deposits; fields where a man with only his hands as tools or, at most, a shovel and pan might become wealthy in a few days. Especially attractive was a site where silver nuggets of enormous size were found in loose soil. This location lay deep in Apache territory, there were no mining officials on the ground and the men who flocked to the place simply excavated without order or system, found what they could and abandoned the place when the Apaches began to gather. It, therefore, received no formal name but was known as the "Minas de Bolas," "Mina de Planchas" and "Bolas de Plata." In the neighboring state of Chihuahua it was known as the "Mina del Padre" since it was a Jesuit Priest who

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2. For biography of Charles D. Poston see *Charles D. Poston, Sunland Seer*, by A. W. Gressinger, 1961. Material concerning his activities in New Mexico are scant and incomplete.

first made a written account of the affair. Velasco used none of these names but called it the Arizona mine since it was situated on an arroyo of that name.<sup>3</sup> His account of the discovery reads as follows:<sup>4</sup>

In the work entitled *Los Apostólicos Afanes de la Compañía de Jesus*, written by one of its sons, there is found on pages 232-237 of the second volume, chapter 2: "In the year 1769 there was discovered a mine with deposits of native silver on the frontier of the barbarous Apaches, at a place called Arisona to the north of the fortress of Altar, now the town of Guadalupe, at a distance of forty leagues near the Agua Caliente. This discovery was made by a Yaqui Indian who revealed its existence to a merchant who made the news public. In effect, the treasure was found near a mountain and extended for half a league along the base. Those who rushed to the place found in the ground, at the depth of a few yards, masses of virgin silver, in the form of round balls weighing from one to two arrobas. Afterwards, there were found some weighing up to twenty arrobas and one of a hundred and forty which was discovered by a native of Guadalajara, which was reduced to smaller pieces in order to be weighed. In view of the astounding richness of the district, many people rushed to the place and excavated the whole ground where they found smaller masses, others collected mere grains of silver and others found nothing at all.

From this description it is evident that this astounding discovery of a placer of virgin silver had its origin from some

3. H. G. Ward, Esq. in his book *Mexico in 1827*, London, 1828, mentions having crossed this arroyo, and seen the mountain from a distance and ventures the opinion that the existence of the "Bolas de Plata" mine was no fiction. Pp. 136-139, Vol. 2.

4. Jose Francisco Velasco, *Noticias Estadísticas del Estado de Sonora, etc.*, Mexico, 1850, pp. 190-192. Parts were translated into English by Wm. F. Nye, 1861, and into French, 1864.

In the preface to the English translation, there is the following biographical information:

The author, Don Francisco Velasco, was a native of Sonora, and held various official positions of responsibility—among others, that of Secretary of State and member of the Federal Congress. Although he modestly remarks in his preface that his principal motive in giving his book to the public was that it might induce some person better informed than himself to furnish more full and accurate statistics, his work is universally recognized in Sonora as the best and, in fact, the only reliable one that has yet been published upon the subject.

The Library of Congress has no further biographical reference to José Francisco Velasco.

very rich vein which might exist in the mountains or hills nearby, since all of them are full of mineral. The news of this discovery is authenticated, not only in the history to which I refer but also in the *Ocios Españoles* and the old records which must exist in the ancient archives of the old missions of the Pimeria Alta. Afterwards, in the year 1817, Don Dionisio Robles, resident of the town of Rayou near Nacameri, organized an expedition of two hundred men to go to the so-called Arizona to discover the richness of this district and, in fact, got the expedition under way. As soon as they arrived, they made a search of that region, excavating in likely places since the old workings had been entirely obliterated with the passing of time. Actually, although they found the stringers of caliche in which the virgin silver had been obtained, they were not fortunate enough to find any nuggets and discovered only a few slivers or grains such as those which escape from the forges where metal is melted into bars. Only one man found a sheet of virgin silver which weighed five marks<sup>5</sup> and which passed into the hands of Robles and from him to Don Lorenzo Martínez who gave it to the author of these notes. He was keeping it to present to the Museum of Mexico but before he had that pleasure his friend Don Ignacio Zuñiga, about to return to the capital, saw it and at his request I gave it to him since he assured me that he wanted it for the same purpose as I and he did not fail in his promise for in 1835, when I was in the capital, I saw the sheet on the first visit which I made to the museum.

From these reports, it is evident that there can be no doubt that these enormous masses of silver did exist in the Arizona and, if the expedition to which I refer did not find them, it does not prove to the contrary, if one considers that they were in the Arizona only a week since they observed parties of Apaches in the vicinity who were about to attack them and for this reason were forced to abandon the country.

History and tradition agree in the statements of the discovery of masses of silver at Arizona and its abandonment. They say that in the year 1769, that of the discovery, the Military Commander of Altar seized the silver from the masses or sheets as treasure of the king and made a report of his action. The owners made their claims but received no

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5. Mark—eight ounces.

satisfaction. They carried their petitions to the authorities at Guadalajara who reported the matter to the court at Madrid. After seven years, the king declared that the silver pertained to his royal patrimony and that the discovery should be worked on his account, etc. As a result of the confiscation of the silver, added to the threatening attitude of the barbarous Indians who began to attack the people who had assembled in that place (Altar) and killed many of them, the town was abandoned and remains so until this day.

I have spoken with many of the people who accompanied the expedition of Robles concerning the place of which we have spoken and all assure me that the country is mineralized: that there is a mountain to the east of the site of the discovery of the masses of silver in which were noticed many mineralized outcrops containing gold and silver which criss-crossed in every direction. Don Teodoro Salazar, a truthful man fully experienced in mining in Sonora, has said the same, adding that the whole region invites the hand of man with the great riches which it contains. Speaking of this matter, he refers to a mine which he himself saw, a little more distant from the Arizona, while traveling through that country, worked on the surface of the ground by means of an open cut, as is customary; that he observed the quality of the ore with fear and alarm since the Apaches had seen him and for that reason they made a hurried departure. Nevertheless, that mine, which they gave the name of Ojito de San Ramon, is very rich according to the assay which he made of a few small pieces which he brought out.

Sr. Don Manuel Escalante Arvisu, a man not only of impeccable veracity but one who occupies a high position in society because of his civic activities and the offices which he has held at all times, among them that of the State of Occidente, saw the Arizona also, although very fleetingly, and states that he saw the ruins of the old town but dared not investigate further because of danger from the enemies. But he states that from the appearance of the place it is highly mineralized and that his opinion is that if it were worked for some time with security from molestation by the Apaches, interesting discoveries would be made.

Though Velasco correctly identifies book, chapter and pages, his account differs considerably in content and espe-

cially in dates.<sup>6</sup> The original from which he supposedly quotes reads as follows:<sup>7</sup>

(In Pimeria) there are silver lodes and some that show signs of gold but those who follow the business complain that they are very superficial since, at a shallow depth, the veins disappear and with them the hopes of the miners. It is true that many of these lodes, unless they are very rich and can be worked at little expense and of high grade ore, cannot be worked profitably because of the expenses to which their owners are put in obtaining machinery, chemicals, supplies and other necessities because, if they are obtained from Mexico, the freighting for a distance of six hundred leagues is difficult and, if they are bought elsewhere, the prices are excessive and yield more profit to the merchants than to the miners. In spite of this great disadvantage, the camp at Arizona has flourished and yielded a profit to its owners; if the costs were not so excessive, I have no doubt that other mines would be opened in the Pimeria.

And in order that this should be shown more clearly, I shall mention a discovery which, at a short distance from the Arizona, was revealed some fifteen years ago and which caused wonder and astonishment not only throughout Mexico but through all of the nations of Europe, seeming so incredible that it was taken, like so many others, for a wild tale from the Indies. A Yaqui Indian, who was working in that region, found the silver and revealed its location and nature to a merchant who told of its existence to others and, in a short time, the sensational discovery became public. This treasure was found near a mountain; on its slope and ridge it extends for almost half a league and ends in a gully which winds through the neighboring hills and carries the arroyo floods when rain falls in the neighboring mountains, though

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6. The date of the discovery was either 1734 or 1736 and the royal decree claiming the silver for the king reached Mexico in 1741. Velasco's repeated use of the date 1769 probably results from historical confusion. In that year the Jesuits, who had been prominent in the exploration of Sonora, were expelled from Spain and the Dominions.

7. The full title of this work is *Apostólicos afanes de la Compañía de Jesús escritos por un padre de la misma Sagrada Religión de su provincia de Mexico*. It was first published in Barcelona in 1754. A second edition was published in Mexico in 1887 and a third in the same city in 1944.

Various opinions have been advanced concerning the identity of the author, none conclusive. Probably several aided in the compilation. The chapter from which this extract is taken was based upon a trip made by Father Fernando Consag.

for the rest of the year it is dry and the country is destitute of water. People rushed to this place with the greatest hopes and found sufficient wealth to satisfy their desires because both on the hill and in the gully they found larger and smaller nuggets, some in the form of masses of pure silver and others largely silver with an admixture of other metals. The weight of these nuggets, according to their size, averaged from one to two arrobas (25-50 pounds). The news of this famous and startling discovery brought in people from every direction and at the slight expense of removing a little soil, some in one place, some in another, they found masses and sheets of prodigious size.

A poor man, either a negro or a mulatto, who had come more than two hundred leagues from the city of Guadalajara, had the good fortune to discover a mass of silver which weighed 21 arrobas (425 pounds), so solid that when an attempt was made to break it up it resisted both iron and steel: a weight so heavy that it could not be placed on the strongest mule by mere human strength and artifice had to be used. The mass was tied with ropes and raised to the branches of a tree whence it was let down with extreme caution to the pack saddle of the animal. Nevertheless, the misfortune of the poor discoverer was so great that he did not get anything at all from his find; an opponent whom I shall not name laid claim to the treasure and the ministers of justice, who came into the case quickly, took it away from him and his final attempt to surrender his interest to the king was of no avail; his petitions were not granted or even heard. Others were more fortunate in their discoveries, finding sheets of even greater size and weight. But the most marvelous discovery of all was one which was found a yard below the surface and weighed, according to the lowest accounts, a hundred and forty arrobas (3500 pounds) of pure silver and resisted every effort to break it, and, since its weight was so great, the finders were forced to melt it by fire in a forge; and when the smelting was completed the scoria yielded nine arrobas of silver and considerably more was obtained when smelted for the third time.

Interested people who were in the neighborhood state that four hundred arrobas of silver were obtained in that region with little expense in a short time. The strangest circumstance noted was that some pieces, when taken from the ground, were flexible and resembled a mass of soft wax and

could be drawn out, lengthened and pressed together; but on the following day, they were hard and inflexible as if hardened by exposure to the air.<sup>8</sup> Not only the Spaniards but some missionaries who are still alive today and held pieces in their hands can testify to the fact as eye-witnesses of this phenomenon. Upon hearing the news of this extraordinary fact, quite properly, the captain of the nearby fortress of Fronteras, who temporarily filled the office of local judge, wondered whether so much silver would be classed as ore or as a treasure recently discovered; if it were ore, it belonged to the finders after paying the royalties due the king; but if it was treasure, the greater part belonged to the king and very little to the individuals. Until competent authority could decide the point, he seized all of the silver which had been found, leaving the decision to the Viceroy of New Spain to whom he sent a messenger with the information.

In Mexico, though there were differences of opinion, the one which was most generous and in favor of the private citizens prevailed. The embargo was raised and each one was allowed to take away what he had found. But this decision formed in Mexico did not meet the approval of the Supreme Council of the Indies; therefore Don Felipe V, of glorious memory, after having examined all of the documents which were prepared concerning such a bitter dispute, issued a royal decree in which he declared that, since it was treasure, the place in which the silver was discovered belonged to his royal treasury and stated definitely that it is a place where

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8. Horn silver (chloride of silver, cerargyrite) accumulates in large masses under peculiar conditions created when a slowly-rising stream of hot water containing some form of silver in solution meets salt water in an enclosed space at the bottom of a shallow sea. It can be cut with a knife or saw and melts in the flame of a candle. Being very tenacious, it retains its shape after the surrounding rock has been removed by erosion. It usually occurs on or near the surface. When melted by volcanic action subsequent to its formation, it usually hardens in the form of plates or slabs.

American prospectors discovered numerous sites where surface deposits of this mineral had been removed many years earlier, perhaps surreptitiously to avoid payment of royalties. A mass weighing 340 lbs. was found in loose soil on Carbonate Creek, two miles north of Kingston, New Mexico, in 1881. Several were found embedded at Leadville, Colorado—the largest more than 1700 lbs. Three large masses were found not far from the surface in the Bridal Chamber at Lake Valley. These were sawed into sections for removal and were not weighed though the largest was estimated at more than 4000 lbs.

Spanish miners were not acquainted with this phenomenon since any surface deposits of this nature in Europe had been found and removed many centuries ago. However, about 1440, a mass weighing more than two tons was found in a mine in Saxony. To celebrate the event, the king descended into the mine to eat a lunch which had been spread on the exposed mass.



that precious metal is formed; and, in fact, this seems to be confirmed, partly because of the flexibility of which we have spoken and partly because some had hardened as though seasoned and others remained imperfect as though not fully ripened. In anticipation of this unfavorable decree, the region had already been abandoned before its announcement. That the place was allowed to relapse into its former solitude was due largely to the covetousness of those who had assembled; as soon as they had found a reasonable amount of silver they hastened to their homes since the vicinity was sterile and provisions extremely expensive.

It is strange that so many people dared to flock to the place considering the danger to which they were exposed from the savage and infidel heathens whose barbaric fury creates havoc among any whom they chance to meet. His Majesty ordered, in addition to the other provisions of his decree, that the search be continued at the expense of the royal treasury. But the people who were experienced in this line of work, which would necessarily be conducted from Nuevo Viscaya, seeing no augmentation in their salaries, declined to enter into his service.

By combining the two accounts, one almost contemporary and the other written more than a century later, and inserting a few facts taken from the history of mining in Sonora it is possible to clarify some of the discrepancy in the use of the name.

The mining camp (Real) of Arizona was a concession probably covering several square leagues situated in a range of mountains which had the same name; which of the two acquired it from the other is uncertain. The operation was undoubtedly of considerable size; large enough to maintain itself against the Apaches with the aid of a small number of soldiers supplied by the government. It was not highly profitable because of the high cost of provisions, materials and transportation though the ores were of satisfactory quality.

As was customary throughout Mexico, the vicinity of the Real was inhabited by a crowd of footloose individuals called "gambucinos" who scoured the surrounding country in

search of rich float or small deposits which were reduced in small arrastras situated on the outskirts of the concessions. These independent miners were usually Indians, negros, mestizos or mulattos and were frowned upon by officials of the government who found great difficulty in collecting royalties and fees from these small operations. They were also accused of stealing the richer ores from the established mines and of ruining those closed down temporarily by mining the pillars of good ore left to support the hanging wall. Apparently, one of these, while prospecting the countryside, came upon the fabulous silver deposit.

Both authors indicate that the site was inhabited for only a short time but it must have been occupied for at least several months since one gambucino came from Guadalajara, a distance of more than six hundred miles; nevertheless, the time was too short to allow the establishment of any kind of law or order. The gambucinos were a rough lot and it is easy to imagine the quarrels and conflicts which took place as disputes arose over the possession of the more likely spots. The strict Mexican laws governing the orderly exploitation of mineral resources were not applicable in this case, partly because of the location surrounded by hostiles and partly because of the speed with which the deposit was exhausted. For the same reasons, no concession was given later for continued operations.

Had the operation passed through the usual legal channels, the location would have been designated by name as is required in all nations possessing mineral resources. Since this never came about, it was known only by the descriptive names used locally. In more remote regions where it was known only from the book published by the Jesuits, it was called "La Mina del Padre (The Mine described by the Priest)".

The Arizona mine, which was worked in 1754, was soon after abandoned as the Apaches forced the abandonment of all Spanish establishments as far south as the town of Altar

itself. By 1850, the mine had been long since forgotten and the name existed only as applied to the mountain and an arroyo. Therefore, they applied the name of the region to the nameless mine.

It is worthy of remark that subsequent exploration never revealed the existence of a silver placer of equal value. Ten thousand pounds of silver is of minor importance as compared with the produce of other districts in America, but never was a like amount recovered with as little effort and expense.

The appearance of Velasco's book with its verification of a half-forgotten tale, its numerous accounts of rich discoveries made later and his assurance that great mineral wealth lay in the regions still infested with Apaches, aroused great interest wherever it was read. The first to profit was Hugh Stephenson of El Paso, a merchant and silver buyer, who financed an expedition into the Organ Mountains in search of the Padre Mine which was rumored to exist somewhere in that area.<sup>9</sup> The fabled mine was not found but a lode was discovered which eventually yielded almost a million dollars, largely in silver. After the Gadsden treaty had been negotiated, prospectors flocked to the newly-acquired region. Among them was a party led by Charles D. Poston, an adventurer and promoter of mines and land grants. Having discovered that valuable ores still remained in the vicinity of Tubac, a region which had been worked by the Spaniards and Mexicans for decades, he set out for eastern cities in order to procure capital for the development of his discoveries. He obtained the promise of \$100,000, largely from capitalists of Cincinnati, a geographical circumstance

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9. In 1856, Frank Flecher, first American to settle in Doña Ana, filed a claim to an old mine "known since time immemorial as the Padre Mine." Located in the San Andres Mountains three miles north of the San Agustín Pass, the only workings were a shallow cut and an exploratory shaft some ten feet in depth. Nearby was a stone cabin. The only evidence of a reduction works was a crude forge. Evidently, at some remote time, a surface deposit of horn silver had been removed, giving rise to the name.

In 1879, a Lincoln County merchant named LaRue did a little exploratory work at the site. Out of the jumble of indefinite information emerged the legend of "The lost mine of Father LaRue."

which was to be of great advantage in obtaining the support of members of Congress favoring the admission of Arizona as a Territory.

Naturally, Poston drew heavily upon Velasco's book in the promotion of his enterprise and probably quoted statements by the Sonoran on every possible occasion. Certainly the name was favorably known to every member of the party which set out in 1856 for Tubac via San Antonio. At Fort Fillmore, New Mexico, the party remained for several days while making travel arrangements; at least long enough to rebuild the crude smelter, which Hugh Stephenson had constructed on the Rio Grande, into a more efficient reduction works.

In Mesilla, only a few miles distant, he undoubtedly came in contact with James A. Lucas who undoubtedly brought up the matter of territorial status. Poston states that he first suggested the name of Arizona, which is probably true; and Lucas, still in search of a name, probably accepted it with enthusiasm, realizing the advantage of obtaining the aid of men who were certain to become prominent citizens south of the Gila. At any rate, it was adopted in 1856 and no other was suggested thereafter. On one occasion, in 1860, a bill was introduced into Congress in which the spelling "Arizuma" appeared. It was probably an error without significance which remained uncorrected since there was no delegate in Washington seeking admission to a seat in Congress.

In 1861, after the publication of certain chapters of Velasco's book translated into English by Wm. F. Nye, a new silver rush into the southwest occurred since now the information was available to all. As late as 1880 a type of prospectors, contemptuously called "Chloriders" by the hard rock men, scoured the mountains seeking surface deposits and often passing over the mineral which they sought without recognizing its nature.

## TLASCALANS IN THE SPANISH BORDERLANDS

By MARC SIMMONS\*

THE ROLE played by the Indians of Tlascala as allies of the Spaniards in the conquest of central Mexico is well known.<sup>1</sup> Less familiar, but no less deserving to be recounted, is the record of their services in the Spanish borderlands to the north.

For their aid in overthrowing the powerful Aztec state in the Cortéz campaigns of 1520-1522, the Tlascalans were granted as reward by the king of Spain a series of privileges including exemption from specified tribute payments and the right to bear certain European arms. The special status thus accorded these people brought them into a close and harmonious relationship with their Spanish overlords. This association as the sixteenth century progressed proved mutually advantageous for both peoples. The Tlascalans, for their part, were able to retain considerable political independence, to prosper economically, and to avoid many of the burdens which fell to the lot of other Indians in central Mexico. The Spaniards, on the other hand, were provided a hard core of loyal and energetic citizens as a base for the colony of New Spain. This latter factor alone carried considerable significance in those crucial early years when the annual inflow of European settlers was comparatively small, and friendly Indians had to be relied upon to maintain and defend the region.

Whereas the period in Mexico before 1550 was devoted largely to making the central area militarily and economically secure, the half-century which followed witnessed a

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1. Variations of the term Tlascalan are Tlaxcalan, Tlaxcaltecan, and Tlascalteco. Their story in central Mexico has been told by Charles Gibson, *Tlaxcala in the Sixteenth Century* (New Haven, Conn., 1952).

vigorous drive to conquer and colonize the less hospitable vastness of the northern frontier. Once again the Tlascalans were called upon to serve the Spanish cause, and they responded enthusiastically, becoming active participants in various phases of the new pioneering ventures.

As enterprizes of exploration and settlement were undertaken, the Tlascalans came to support the Spaniards in several capacities, 1) as formal colonizers clustered around mission centers where they functioned as teachers and exemplary farmers to Indian neophytes, 2) as free laborers in the new mining regions, 3) as auxiliary soldiers, and 4) as individual servants and assistants to Spanish explorers and friars going north.

As the Spaniards approached the northern perimeter, they were confronted by a horde of assorted tribes, mostly nomadic and barbarous, who went generally by the collective name of Chichimecas. One of the gravest tasks besetting sixteenth century administrators of New Spain was that of controlling these belligerent Indians. Viceroy Luis de Velasco assaulted the problem in part by inducing four hundred families of Tlascalans to move northward beginning early in 1591, and to establish settlements among the obstreperous Chichimecas. It was thought that the Tlascalan presence would help stabilize the frontier and that their example would provide a healthy model for the Chichimecas to follow.<sup>2</sup>

Several prominent friars voiced objections to the plan initially for they feared that the harsh realities of frontier life would jeopardize the spiritual welfare and the bodily safety of the Tlascalans.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, the measure was approved, and under the supervision of Rodrigo del Rio de

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2. France V. Scholes and Eleanor Adams, eds., *Advertimientos generales que los virreyes dejaron a sus sucesores, 1590-1604* (Mexico, 1956), pp. 43-44. The idea of using Tlascalans in this manner had been current as early as 1566. See Charles W. Hackett, ed., *Historical Documents Relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and Approaches Thereto, to 1773* (3 vols.; Washington, D. C., 1923-1937), I, 155.

3. Fray Gerónimo de Mendieta, *Historia Eclesiástica Indiana* (Mexico, 1870), pp. 245, 733.

Loza the Indians were distributed in three peripheral districts: Zacatecas, San Luis Potosí, and the region around Saltillo.<sup>4</sup>

In Zacatecas the Tlascalans were well received by the local populous, and soon they were established at Chuchihuites, San Andrés, and Colotlán to the south. Within a short time, the prosperous district of Durango was requesting the presence of Tlascalans, not only to serve as an example to the erratic nomads, but to provide much needed labor in the mines. Shortly after 1600, some one thousand Tlascalan and Tarascan Christian Indians were imported from the south in response to this call.<sup>5</sup>

Several settlements of Tlascalans were developed at San Luis Potosí including the new parish of Tlaxcalilla. Contiguous to their towns and fields were placed the Guachichiles Chichimecas who were admonished by the Franciscan friars to observe and imitate the Tlascalans at every opportunity.<sup>6</sup>

The most distant area occupied by the Tlascalans at this time was centered around Saltillo in the extreme northeast. The severity of Chichimeca incursions here had prompted the few Spanish colonists to threaten abandonment of their homes unless government support was forthcoming. The authorities in September of 1591 responded by transferring eighty families of Tlascalans from San Luis Potosi to Saltillo where they were lodged on the western outskirts of the Spanish town in their own pueblo of San Estéban de Nueva Tlascala.<sup>7</sup> This Indian community was to become the parent

4. Under orders of the viceroy, Tlascalans at about the same time were placed in the sparsely settled district of Guanajuato along with other groups of Indians from central Mexico. While various Christian tribes were drawn upon for colonists, the Tlascalans remained the leading participants in such Spanish ventures. Philip Wayne Powell, *Soldiers, Indians and Silver* (Berkeley, 1952), p. 197.

5. Elias Amador, *Bosquejo Historico de Zacatecas* (Zacatecas, 1892), p. 276; R. H. Barlow and George T. Smisor, eds., *Nombre de Dios, Durango* (Sacramento, 1943), p. 56n.

6. Primo Feliciano Velazquez, *Historia de San Luis Potosí* (4 vols.; Mexico, 1946-1948), I, 438.

7. Vito Alesio Robles, *Francisco de Urdiñola y el Norte de la Nueva España* (Mexico, 1931), chap. VI, *passim*.

of similar Tlascalan towns located later along the northeastern rim of the viceroyalty.

An extension of the Saltillo colony blossomed forth in February, 1598, when mission Santa María de las Parras was founded to the west among the Lagunero Indians. The Christian Tlascalans assisted the Jesuits who directed this undertaking, and within a year the mission and the new town of Parras boasted a population of 1,600 persons.<sup>8</sup> There followed in the same area the organization of fifteen communities all ministered by the Jesuits. The fecundity of the newly opened lands apparently lead a number of the Tlascalans to desert their mission duties and turn to the more profitable business of fulltime farming. That they openly asserted their independence in this matter is evidenced by the censure of a local priest who remarked of the Tlascalans that with "the enormous abuse of their privileges, it is a wonder they have not brought about the total ruin of our enterprize."<sup>9</sup>

Through the first half of the seventeenth century the northeast frontier stood as a ragged line extending from Cerralvo and Monterrey west by way of Saltillo and Parras. Texas remained to be explored and colonized as did the stretch of broken country along the Gulf coast known as the Seno Mexicano.

It was rumors of French intrusion into east Texas that first bestirred the Spanish to regard that region seriously. In 1688, a Tlascalan scout sent by the Governor of Coahuila to reconnoiter the Texas coast reported the discovery of a whiteman living as a chief among the Indians. The fellow sat in royal fashion on a throne made of buffalo hide and was waited upon by several retainers.<sup>10</sup> He received the scout kindly, and presented him with several pages from a French

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8. Peter M. Dunne, *Pioneer Jesuits in Northern Mexico* (Berkeley, 1944), pp. 79-81.

9. Vito Alessio Robles, *Coahuila y T exas en la  poca Colonial* (Mexico, 1938), p. 401.

10. Alonso de Le n, *Historia de Nuevo Le n* (Mexico, 1909), pp. 314-315; William E. Dunn, *Spanish and French Rivalry in the Gulf Region of the United States* (Austin, 1917), pp. 86-88.



book to take back as a message. The "chief" proved to be a survivor of the ill-fated La Salle expedition, and his presence fanned the fears of provincial authorities. A number of parties were outfitted at the recently established presidio of San Francisco de los Tlascalans (near present Monclova), and were dispatched to Texas to search for other remnants of La Salle's force. Tlascalans served as auxiliary soldiers with these probing expeditions and with that of Domingo de Terán who in 1691 supplied the several small missions erected in east Texas as a buffer against further French encroachment.<sup>11</sup>

A proposal in 1691 to plant Tlascalan settlements in Texas at strategic points failed to bear fruit, but by 1700 these Indians were firmly established at the presidio of San Juan Bautista near present Eagle Pass.<sup>12</sup> Again in 1722, Tlascalans were proposed for the work of strengthening the Texas frontier. The Marqués de Aguayo ambitiously urged that two hundred

be brought by way of Vera Cruz to La Bahía, to serve as an example to the Indians with devine worship and other spiritual matters. The said . . . families should be divided between La Bahía, San Antonio, and the missions of Adaes and Texas . . .<sup>13</sup>

A project similar to the one advocated above involved a few decades later the placing on the lower Trinity River of "a presidio, mission and subsidized colony of fifty families, half of Spaniards and half of Tlascalan Indians, both classes to be enlisted at Saltillo.<sup>14</sup> Still later in 1778, Athanase de Mézières, Governor at Natchitoches, recommended the dis-

11. Charles W. Hackett, *Pichardo's Treatise on the Limits of Louisiana and Texas* (3 vols.; Austin, 1931-1941), III, 177.

12. Herbert E. Bolton and Thomas M. Marshall, *The Colonization of North America* (New York, 1922), p. 292.

13. "El Marqués de San Miguel de Aguayo . . . da quenta á V. M. de haver restaurado á el amable dominio de V. M. la provincia de Têxas . . ." June 13, 1722, in *Documentos para la Historia de Têxas* (Madrid, 1962), pp. 443-44.

14. Herbert E. Bolton, "Spanish Activities on the Lower Trinity," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XVI (April, 1913), 354, 361.

patching of Tlascalans to the Taovaya country on the upper Red River where their example "as regards customs, government, religion, and industry would undoubtedly give rise to one of the most opulent and advantageous settlements of these realms."<sup>15</sup>

None of these plans, so far as is known, were ever executed. At the San Sabá mission established in central Texas in 1757, however, nine Tlascalan families were brought from Saltillo to assist in the reduction of the Apaches. The tragic destruction of this mission in the following year by the Comanches and their allies is well known. A punitive expedition formed by Colonel Diego Ortiz Parilla in 1759 was composed of five hundred men including a contingent of thirty Tlascalan auxiliaries.<sup>16</sup>

As a postscript to the story of Tlascalan activities in Texas, reference should be made to their part in opening the Seno Mexicano—that strip of coastal wilderness lying athwart the lower Rio Grande extending north to the Nueces and south to the Pánuco. The formidable Sierra Gorda in this area sheltered fierce remnants of Chichimeca bands driven from their homes in the west, and offered refuge to Indian neophytes who periodically fled from the missions of Coahuila and Nuevo León. Until the eighteenth century Spanish colonists by-passed the Seno Mexicano in favor of more hospitable climes elsewhere. Infrequently military forces penetrated the region to round up escapees from the mission. These Indians on their return were distributed among the Tlascalans who received the responsibility of reconciling their charges to civilized ways.

In 1746, the district was erected as the new and separate province of Nuevo Santander, and José de Escandón, given the title of governor and captain-general, was delegated to colonize it. By promise of subsidies and of lands unencum-

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15. Herbert E. Bolton, *Athanasie de Mézières and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier, 1768-1780* (2 vols.; Cleveland, 1914), II, 204-207.

16. Fray Juan Agustín Morfi, *History of Texas, 1673-1779* (2 vols.; Albuquerque, 1935), II, 339.

bered by taxes, over seven hundred families including many of Tlascalan origin were persuaded to enter into the scheme. Escandón's enthusiasm and careful management resulted in the complete success of the project, and by 1755, two dozen communities containing a total of more than six thousand souls were counted.<sup>17</sup> The Tlascalans, being in on the ground floor, obtained some of the best agricultural lands and their settlements grew to be among the most prosperous in the province.

Far to the north and west of Texas and Nuevo Santander, the Tlascalans were active for a time on another front. In New Mexico they were not needed to instruct the relatively advanced Pueblo Indians among whom the missionaries concentrated their energies, so no formal program of Tlascalan colonization was entered upon here. Nevertheless, fragmentary evidence indicates that a number of these people reached this province in a more or less haphazard fashion. Some were included among the rank and file of the soldiery in the first exploratory expedition, others came independently with the caravans of the Spanish colonists, and still others arrived attached to the entourages of officials and friars. This is not surprising since, as we have seen, Zacatecas and Durango situated on the road to New Mexico were well seeded with Tlascalans.

An old legend, lacking any basis in fact, claimed that a small body of Spaniards and Tlascalan Indians with Coronado had elected to remain in New Mexico after 1542 where they constructed a town with a chapel on the site of Santa Fe.<sup>18</sup> There is little in the documents to suggest the presence of Tlascalans in the army of Coronado, but one or more may have been with the Chamuscado party which explored the upper Rio Grande forty years later. The expedition named the district around Taos Nueva Tlascala perhaps in honor

17. *Estado General de las Fundaciones Hecho por D. José de Escandón en la Colonia del Nuevo Santander* (Publicaciones del Archivo General de la Nación, 2 vols.; Mexico, 1929-1930), I, 97.

18. Benjamin R. Read, *Historia Ilustrada de Nuevo México* (Santa Fe, 1911), p. 105.

of the homeland of one of its members.<sup>19</sup> Antonio de Espejo on his sally into New Mexico in 1582 brought with him an Indian known as Gregorio de Tlascalca, a fine soldier who possessed the talent of carving new gunstocks for the Spaniards from the durable *tornillo* wood.<sup>20</sup>

Juan de Oñate in 1598 undertook the permanent occupation of the upper Rio Grande valley, and some writers have supposed that his infantry was composed largely of Tlascalans.<sup>21</sup> There is no direct evidence to support this, but it may be reasonably assumed that a number were present in some capacity. At least one of the Franciscans with Oñate, it is recorded, brought a Tlascalan assistant from the south, and others may have done likewise.<sup>22</sup>

Whatever the circumstances in which they arrived in New Mexico, the Tlascalans seemed to have gravitated to their own ward or *barrio* of Analco in Santa Fe soon after the *villa* was founded. The word *analco* is of Nahuatl origin meaning "on the other side of the river" referring to the south bank of the Rio de Santa Fe.<sup>23</sup> A chapel, the *hermita* of San Miguel, was probably constructed especially to minister to the Indian's spiritual needs. An early reference to Mexican Indians, no doubt Tlascalans, living in Santa Fe is found in a document of 1640, and suggests that the *barrio* of Analco was already a growing concern by this time.<sup>24</sup>

In the Pueblo revolt of 1680, the Tlascalans suffered along with the Spaniards. Governor Antonio de Otermín reported that their houses and chapel were burned by the

19. J. Lloyd Mecham, "The Second Spanish Expedition to New Mexico," *New Mexico Historical Review*, I (July, 1926), 281. H. H. Bancroft suggests that the Tlascalca of Chamuscado was at Zia Pueblo. *Arizona and New Mexico* (San Francisco, 1888), p. 79n.

20. George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, eds., *Expedition into New Mexico Made by Antonio Espejo, 1582-1583* (Los Angeles, 1929), p. 69.

21. F. S. Curtis, Jr., "Spanish Arms and Armor in the Southwest," *New Mexico Historical Review*, II (April, 1927), 112.

22. Fr. Agustín de Vetancurt, *Teatro Mexicano* (4 vols.; Mexico, 1871), III, 374.

23. The Tlascalans for the most part spoke the Nahuatl or Mexican language. A few, however, were speakers of Otomi or other tongues harking back to the day when representatives of diverse linguistic groups settled in the old state of Tlascalca. Jacques Soutelle, *La Famille Otomi-Pame du Mexique Central* (Paris, 1937), p. 451.

24. Archivo General de las Indias, Patronato, leg. 244, ramo 7.

enemy while they themselves retreated across the river and joined in the spirited defense of the *villa*.<sup>25</sup> With the Spanish withdrawal, the Tlascalans retreated to new homes at El Paso.

After the reconquest and the refounding of Santa Fe, only a few Tlascalans appear to have returned to reside at the site of their former homes. In 1728, an Indian Juan de León Brito identified as "a Mexican, and settler of the ward of Analco, in this town of Santa Fe" requested from the governor title to lands which had belonged to his father. Twitchell concludes that the Britos were Tlascalan Indians.<sup>26</sup> If this was indeed the case, then here is the last reference to Tlascalans in Santa Fe which has thus far come to light. Mention of the *barrio* of Analco in several documents of the later eighteenth century indicates that *genízaros* or acculturated plains Indians were occupying this district.<sup>27</sup> Accordingly, it may be conjectured that the few Tlascalans who perhaps returned in the years following the reconquest were rapidly assimilated, abandoning in the process all traces of tribal identity.

Several recent historians, notably Adams and Chavez, deny the existence of a Tlascalan colony at Analco. They hold that the generic term "Mexican Indians" which was commonly employed in the documents merely emphasises that the people came from the south and were members of any of a number of Nahuatl or "Mexican" speaking groups.<sup>28</sup>

Sufficient evidence, however, seems to exist apart from that noted above to substantiate the claim tendered in this paper that of the early residents of the ward of Analco, at least the majority were persons of Tlascalan origin. A

25. Hackett, *Historical Documents*, III, 331.

26. Ralph E. Twitchell, *The Spanish Archives of New Mexico* (2 vols.; Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1914), I, 36.

27. Letter of Jacobo Ugarte y Loyola, January 21, 1788, Spanish Archives of New Mexico, Santa Fe, doc. no. 991; Fray Juan Agustín de Morfi, "Geográfica del Nuevo México," 1782, Archivo General de la Nación, Historia, vol. 25.

28. Eleanor B. Adams and Fray Angelico Chavez, *The Missions of New Mexico, 1776* (Albuquerque, 1956), p. 304n.

memorial penned by several Franciscan friars in December of 1693, calls attention to "the chapel of San Miguel which before [the revolt] served as the parish church of the Tlascalan Indians."<sup>29</sup> Similarly, Fray Velez de Escalante in 1778, observed in a letter that the "houses of the Tlascalan Indians who lived in the *barrio* of Analco" had been burned to the ground in the Pueblo revolt.<sup>30</sup> Further, a modern Franciscan historian, Fernando Ocaranza, agrees on the basis of additional documentary evidence that specifically it was the people of Tlascala who inhabited the eastern limits of the *villa* of Santa Fe in 1680.<sup>31</sup>

The Tlascalan Indians, doubtless, were active in areas within the Spanish borderlands other than those described here. Further archival investigation should uncover fresh details enabling a fuller account to be drawn. Nevertheless, from the brief sketch just presented, it is possible to detect the salient theme of the Tlascalan story—wherever these Indians ventured, whatever enterprize they undertook, they inevitably assumed the character of frontier heroes.

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29. Memorial of Fray Salvador de San Antonio, *et al.*, December 18, 1693 in *Documentos para Servir a la Historia de Nuevo México* (Madrid, 1962), p. 347.

30. *Documentos para . . . Nuevo México*, p. 309.

31. *Establecimientos Franciscanos en el Misterio Reino de Nuevo México* (Mexico, 1934), p. 41.

## THE SHEEP INDUSTRY IN ARIZONA, 1906

*Edited by Frank D. Reeve*

*The "Old Observer" in Arizona\**

IN THE LAST letter something was said concerning Phoenix as a health resort; and the probable inference of the reader was that the place reaped a considerable income from invalids who came hither in quest of that greatest boon of existence. I believe this to be correct.

While a considerable portion of the health seekers, because of pecuniary reasons, have to abide in tents, which makes it necessary to establish themselves outside of the city, perhaps at some outlying town where there may be a white city whose population is almost exclusively composed of persons afflicted with pulmonary diseases, yet there are not a few who never get out of the capital after once reaching it.

The fact is that a considerable portion of those who visit this place or southern California have postponed the journey until recovery is out of the question, if indeed (beyond the delusive hopes which such unfortunates always cherish) there had ever been any probability of favorable change; for this class of disease is insidious and treacherous to the last degree. Hope springs eternal in the breasts of such sufferers.\*

They are usually certain that they will eventually be "all right," even though it may seem apparent to lookers-on as well as to the doctors in attendance (in such cases as the

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\* (From Our Traveling Staff Correspondent) *The American Shepherd's Bulletin*, vol. 11, no. 3, March, 1906. [See NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW, vol. 38, no. 4 (1963) F.R.D.]

\* I saw a youth, not more than 18 years old, in the last stages of consumption, apparently, with a racking cough, just able to move around. He had been some time in southern California before coming to Phoenix, where he had tarried a while. He went out with me on the midnight train—was going home (to die, I believe, though he failed to realize this); yet he was in good spirits and perhaps confidently expected one day to be well as the ruggedest boy of his age.

afflicted are able to avail themselves of physicians' services) that death is but a question of a short time.

Regular medical practitioners, specialists, all of whom, as well as the various tradesmen and rooming-house keepers, are adepts at charging and collecting rates, are none of them doing a losing business. Some "malicious" person declared to me the other day that certain physicians and funeral directors had a "friendly understanding" whereby the former received a perquisite for each cadaver which he caused to be passed to the latter.

UP COUNTRY AGAIN. There are two trains daily to Ash Fork, one leaving at 30 minutes past midnight; the other at 45 minutes past seven on the following morning. The former reaches Prescott at about the time at which the other leaves Phoenix, for the passage involves a gradual ascent of 4,352 feet—a route of steep grades along mountainsides and through canyons, so progress is comparatively slow.<sup>1</sup>

PRESCOTT, a former capital of Arizona,<sup>2</sup> is situated in a basin among the San Prieto mountains at an altitude of 5,432 feet. It is one of the most important mining centres in the country, i. e., in its tributary district are as many mines as can be found in any similar area. So the business of the town, a large volume of which is annually transacted, is mainly dependent upon this industry for its existence. The place, therefore, is usually thronged with miners and pros-

1. The railroad from Prescott to Phoenix "was so winding that the railroad quickly earned . . . the nickname of the 'Pea Vine'." William S. Greever, "Railway Development in the Southwest," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, 32:172 (April, 1957).

2. The Pauline Weaver Party found gold near Prescott in 1863. The first Territorial Governor, John N. Goodwin, located the capital at Prescott in 1864. A citizens' meeting established the town on May 30, 1864. It was named in honor of the historian, William H. Prescott. Will C. Barnes, *Arizona Place Names*. Revised and enlarged by Byrd H. Granger. The University of Arizona Press, Tucson, 1960. The name Prescott was suggested by Richard C. McCormick, the first Secretary of State for Arizona Territory. Rufus K. Wyllys, *Arizona: The History of a Frontier State*, p. 170. Hobson & Herr, Phoenix, Arizona, 1950.

The Post Office was established on June 10, 1864, with Hiram Walter Read as postmaster. John and Lillian Theobald, *Arizona Territory Post Offices and Postmasters*. Arizona Historical Foundation, Phoenix, 1961.

Sheldon H. Dike, *Territorial Post Offices of Arizona*. Dr. S. H. Dike, Albuquerque, New Mexico, 1958. Cf. *Arizona Place Names*, *supra*.



pectors. The latter are the incarnation of cheerfulness and hopefulness. The perpetually high spirits of all individuals of this class are proverbial. You never meet one who is not going to make a stake.

Once in a way, some one does more than realize his most sanguine expectations, as in the case of a party whom I met the other day, who sold a claim which he had some time before acquired, and on which he had done some work, for \$60,000, \$10,000 down, and \$10,000 per year, until the whole amount should be paid.

The floor of this basin is largely undulating—a series of rolling hills (on which are some fine residences of capitalists and merchants as well as most of the churches and school-houses and the “Carnegie library”<sup>3</sup>), which break off at the south to a creek bottom on which all by itself is a stretch of tenderloin whose area is to that of the whole town as is the region between 14th and 42d streets to all Manhattan. Just why such districts in the West are more conspicuous in mining towns than elsewhere is a problem.

Two fine streets cross the intermediate section between the hills and the creek bottom, extending, in the centre of the town, along each side of an attractive plaza which is adjacent to the massive courthouse—Prescott being the county seat of Yavapai. Around the plaza and abutting upon the aforesaid streets are the banks, stores, newspaper offices and general business establishments of the town.

The next place north of any importance is Jerome Junction, a hamlet whence passes a branch from the Santa Fe to Jerome,<sup>3</sup> where Senator Clark’s great copper mine is located. Northward to Cedar Glade the country is a region of high, arid table-land covered with miles of weird juniper copses, and broken by wide deep washes. One of these—

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3. Jerome is a ghost town on the eastern slope of Mingus (or Black) Mountain. Eugene M. Jerome was Secretary-Treasurer of the United Verde Copper Company organized in New York, March 1883. Patrick Hamilton, *The Resources of Arizona*, p. 183. A. L. Bancroft, San Francisco, 3rd Edition. W. A. Clark of Montana purchased the mine in 1886. *Arizona Place Names*. Frederick F. Thomas was the first postmaster, September 10, 1883. *Ibid.* Cf. Wyllys, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

LITTLE HELL'S CANYON, a dark, dismal twisting chasm—the railroad crosses beyond Cedar Glade station. To-day a stream of "snow water" is coursing through it, but I learn that in summer it is impossible to find a drop for stock anywhere in its vicinity, though grazing facilities everywhere about are good.

A blind man was waiting for the train at Jerome Junction, an elderly person whose lines had evidently fallen in hard places. His orbs were gone, only their sockets were in dim view, through dark glasses. He was munching a piece of bread. He had suspended from his neck a card on which was the legend: "REMEMBER POOR BLIND TOM."

Just before the train started (he was going to Williams and must change at Ash Fork), he moved toward the smoking car, tapping the planks with his staff, about as well as would one who enjoyed the sense of sight, only he had to be guided over the gap between the edge of the platform and the first step. A seat in the car he readily located by means of the impression which his stick conveyed to his acquired acute tactual sense.

At Ash Fork, on my return, I met

MR. R. T. BROWN, who, for years, has been a camp rustler or foreman with the E. T. Smith<sup>4</sup> outfit. An important part of his work was taking sheep on to the desert in the proper season, for months at a time. This practice "is of great advantage, if feed proves sufficiently reliable," for it not only "gives the range rest," but enables the proprietor to secure early lambs and consequently to obtain a good price for the same. This gentleman confirms the account of the scarcity of sale sheep to which allusion was made in the last letter. Those, if any, who have them are holding. This makes demand keen. All kinds of money, so to speak, are being offered. At the moment we hear of a band of ewes just being sold at \$6.50 per head. However, if this price were really obtained, it covered the fleece and the prospective lamb.

4. E. P. Smith was a sheepman in Coconino County post-1891. Bert Haskett, "History of the Sheep Industry in Arizona," *Arizona Historical Review*, 7:48 (July, 1936).

Mr. B. is much interested in range horses and in connection with his partner proposes to close out the business this summer. They have 1,000 head, mostly range stuff, good grade. For the above purpose these gentlemen will drop temporarily out of the sheep business.

While I was waiting for the train to Williams

A BUNCH OF ANGORAS came down to the track and crossed it to the north side, perhaps to drink at a water course which, near-by, cuts through the flat land. There were some fine ones in the lot—quite “seven-eighths”; all had a good coat of “moare.” These, I learned, belonged to a Mexican.

Before the withdrawal of so much land from entry, herds of such stock were not uncommon in northern central Arizona, but as goats are not allowed upon the reserve, the few still kept in the territory are herded down South; otherwise, the only large flock of which I have an account is that of Mr. Frost, 15 miles southeast of Kingman. Mr. D. S. Hibbin,<sup>5</sup> of Flagstaff, who took a flock off the reserve, to deliver to a purchaser at Lee’s Ferry (of the Colorado), informs me that most of such stock is to be found in the hills between Prescott and Salt River valley.

A TRIO OF LITTLE MEXICS, all “ninas,” in the railroad waiting-room, created a pleasant diversion, and relieved the monotony which would otherwise have seriously oppressed the waiters, especially as the train was liable to be late. One was an infant in the arms of its mother, who informed a lady in the group of exceedingly interested passengers that the baby was not a “muchacho” [boy]. The other two, little brunette lasses, pretty as pretty pictures, the casual observer would be sure to consider twins, for they were nearly of a size, closely resembled each other in their features, and were of such degree of development as children of that age (four or five years) may be supposed to have attained, and, above

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5. I find mention of H. C. Hibben of Flagstaff, a member of the Fish and Game Commission. Geo. H. Kelly, *Legislative History. Arizona 1864-1912*, p. 269. State Historian, 1926.

all, differed in temperament as markedly as young ones who come into the world together are apt to.

One of these little elves sat passively, demurely, upon a bench or near her mother, watching with childish interest, one might almost say envy, the antics of her sister, who was frolicking all over the room, now floundering upon the floor, soiling her little skirt, again toddling to this, that and the other corner, and sometimes, in spite of the audible caution of her parent, whose hands were tied, essaying to inspect the cinders on the stove hearth.

When this one met with some mishap and commenced to sob, a good-natured gentleman took her in his arms to comfort her, which was by no means a difficult task, for children (Mexic) are seldom shy, and usually reciprocate any attention paid them by strangers.

This incident brought out the query as to whether these two little "hermanas" [sisters] were really twins. So some one or other who was able to do so inquired of the mother, who spoke no English.

They were not twins. Then there was an animated discussion among the lookers-on as to which one of the childish twain was the elder. The male observers all accorded that misfortune to the lively lass; the ladies to the demure one. The mother decided the case in favor of the ladies.

This correct solution of the problem by the women must have been determined by subtle, not to say inexplicable, feminine intuition, for certainly all signs by which men generally fix, at least approximately, the age of animals indicated by at least a year and one-half the seniority of the one whom her mamma pronounced the younger.

'Tis a stretch of lonesome valley, with a growth of smallish pines on plain and adjacent hillsides, which you cross between Ash Fork and

WILLIAMS, in Coconino county. When you reach the latter town you find it seated in a nook formed by the irregular

trend of a mountain spur, and at the foot of a prominent peak (Williams Mountain,<sup>6</sup> whose sides, too, support a considerable pine growth, in which toward the summit is an Indian grave marked by a monument).

The town toward the north looks over a plain, which spreads out more than half way to the Grand Canyon, though crossed by ranges of low hills called "knobs."

The Grand Canyon branch of the Santa Fe Railway crosses this plain, on whose western edge is a group of volcanic hills, one of which, perhaps four miles from Williams, has a crater (long ago inactive), as surrounding debris attests, large enough to admit a man's body, and of uncertain depth.

Near the volcanic hill is an "Elephant Park"—each stone in the worn rock group having been made to assume a shape which, from different points of view, an eighth of a mile distant bears a striking resemblance to a museum specimen of the said quadruped.

Williams, being at the junction of the main Santa Fe track and the canyon branch, is a busy railroad town. The locomotives on this line, at least in Arizona, use oil fuel, and here, on the north side of the track, is an immense reservoir which contains thousands of barrels of this liquid combustible.

One whose light-weight purse renders the payment of "first-class" hotel rates impracticable may obtain a good room at "The Cottage" and a good meal at any of the restaurants at reasonable prices.\*

When I dropped into Williams before the holidays I had the pleasure of meeting, at his residence,

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6. Bill Williams Mountain. "The one definite record which has been preserved of Old Bill's visit to Arizona is in the statement of Antoine Leroux, who in 1837 met Williams, all alone, on the river in Arizona which afterwards was named for him." Alpheus H. Favour, *Old Bill Williams, Mountain Man*, p. 107. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1936. Citing Kern's Diary of the Sitgreaves Expedition, 1851.

\* So at the canyon one can comfortably establish himself during his brief stay at much less expense than he would incur at El Tovar.

DR. E. B. PERRIN, who is an enthusiast on the subject of sheep husbandry and is co-proprietor of upwards of 13,000 head. He has the reputation of being a successful operator. I believe his concern is known as Perrin Brothers.<sup>7</sup> The family has large landed possessions in this county and has considerable real estate in the vicinity of Williams.

The doctor, though an eminently practical man, having an intimate knowledge of men and things, is a student by habit, a thinker, always on the alert for anything new which is truly in the line of progress.

Notwithstanding that he is a perpetually busy man (indeed, he was closely engaged with his secretary when I called at early morning), he kindly accorded me an interview, pausing from his labors for that purpose.

I soon found that he is one of those who, "when at rest, is never less at rest." He had several questions to ask concerning the immediate and future status of wool in the country, so framed that each called for an unqualifiedly exact answer. He is an adept at this style of interrogatory, and I certainly must needs have been gifted with prevision and omnivision to have answered satisfactorily.

But he is a singularly kind-hearted man—type of the old-school gentleman (I have the impression that he came from Alabama)—and he readily agreed to another interview at some subsequent date.

However, when I visited Williams in late January, he was in California, but I was so fortunate as to encounter in town Mr. S. Brown, a foreman with the Perrin outfit, who has been with it for a considerable period.

The concern is running grade Merinos and Rambouillets, such as shear upward of seven pounds annually. Shearing

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7. Dr. E. B. Perrin was a pioneer sheepman in Yavapai county post-1881, presumably in partnership with his brother, Robert Perrin. Haskett, *op. cit.*, 7:29, 48. According to William S. Greever, *Arid Domain: The Santa Fe Railroad and its Western Lands*, p. 47, he was also a land speculator and by 1887 had purchased 258,873.08 acres. He is mentioned in Edward Morris Wentworth, *America's Sheep Trails*, p. 252, The Iowa State College Press, 1948.

is done by hand<sup>8</sup>—by preference, I judge. Their wool in 1905 brought 18@21c. per pound.

They have used in the flock the Stanislaus Company (California) bucks (originally Stone & Snyder).

LAMBING takes place on the range, about 25 miles distant from Williams. In regard to results, it was remarked substantially as follows: "If one put in the requisite bucks for 1,000 ewes, there ought to be 1,000 lambs forthcoming, and with ordinary care at least 80 per cent, or 75 per cent to 80 per cent, of these should be raised.

"May lambs born here in the North are in the fall as large and year in and year out are worth as much as those which come at Phoenix. As yearlings, you cannot tell the difference between them. If mountain lambs are held till December they bring as much money as those which were dropped down in Maricopa."

A 65-pound (or thereabout) mountain lamb about the 10th of October has during the past five years sold here for \$2.35.

These sheep in summer run on the Navajo reservation, out from Winslow—the whole flock, 13,888. The bands go on to the reserve in April, where the lambing of such ewe bands as do not migrate south in winter usually occurs. Concerning

LOSS OF SHEEP, it was said that since dipping they were "out" 18 sheep, i.e., that number was unaccounted for. They had previously [lost] 89 pelts, which would make the total deficiency for the season 107, which would be less than eight-tenths of one per cent, or for a flock of that size practically nothing, though this does not include (as I suppose) the mutton consumed by the herders, and is, of course, an exceptionally fortunate case.

While the utmost care is exercised in culling out old stock and in all other particulars, the loss in average years will not fall short of ten per cent.

8. For a description of sheep shearing, see J. D. Robb, "Sheep Shearing in New Mexico 1956," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, 32:357 (Oct. 1957).

WAGES, ETC. Herders are paid \$30 per month and board; camp tenders, \$40. The cost of maintenance per man per month is \$8 besides the mutton (sheep from the herd, slaughtered for their use). The quantity consumed in this outfit is not stated, but it is a well-known fact that a herder will generally make way with two head per month, which would mean at least \$6 at any time, and at present prices considerably more. The help is furnished flour, potatoes, beans canned tomatoes and coffee.

"For a rough guess," the annual per capita cost of keeping the herd (it is the year round in the North) is 90c.

Mr. C. C. Hutchinson,<sup>9</sup> of C. C. Hutchinson & Co., who was mentioned in an earlier Arizona letter, resides a portion of the year at Williams. I believe this is his post-office address.

Here I several times saw Mr. J. B. Jones,<sup>10</sup> a prominent business man and appreciative reader of the "Bulletin." Although at present he has no direct financial interest in sheep, he very naturally concerns himself about everything which relates to the prosperity of this part of Arizona. He appears to be a connoisseur in mineralogical and geological specimens and curios. His unique cabinet attracts lively attention, as does his little menagerie of coyotes, cats, etc.

The highest point along the Santa Fe between Daggett, California, and Albuquerque, New Mexico, is 30 odd miles east of Williams at Riordan,<sup>11</sup> 7,340 feet above sea level. Five or six miles farther east, on the vast plain which un-

9. C. C. Hutchinson of Seligman raised a high grade ram. Haskett, *op. cit.*, 7:47. He was a pioneer in crossing Hampshire bucks with Rambouillet for a larger meat animal. Wentworth, *Sheep Trails*, p. 255. Hutchinson was one of two representatives from Coconino County to the State Constitutional Convention in 1910. Wyllys, *Arizona*, p. 305.

10. J. E. [sic] Jones was an attorney at Flagstaff. Haskett, *op. cit.*, 7:42. The Jones brothers were sheepmen post-1891. *Ibid.*, 7:47. J. E. Jones was appointed probate judge for Coconino County in 1891. Kelly, *Legislative History*, p. 154.

11. A former lumber camp named for Dan M. Riordan, one of three brothers who sold their interests in 1897. The site is 30 miles east of Flagstaff. Dan Riordan was Indian Agent for the Navahos at Fort Defiance 1880-1884. *Arizona Place Names*. Riordan (Dennis?) California politician and Civil War veteran, served as Agent from January 1882 until June of 1884. NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW, vols. 16, 18, 21 *Passim*. (Jan. 1943).



folds from the base of ancient volcanic mountains, extending to the San Francisco spur at the southeast and indefinitely east—a region originally o'erstrewn with cinders, ash and scoriae spewed from the now invisible solfataras of prehistoric days—in the invigorating air and bright sunshine characteristic of the high valleys of the North, is the capital of Coconino county.

FLAGSTAFF, in some respects the most interesting town in the territory, as will be seen when certain facts in regard to it and its environment shall have been presented. In the first place, the climate is above criticism. I know no other place, south of Salt Lake and east of California, to which the term "temperate," with all that it implies, when it has reference to degrees of heat and cold, more properly applies. The winters are short. That of 1905-1906, now Jan. 23 to 25, is a thing of the past. There will be no more sinking of the mercury to the freezing point till next November or December. During the so-called cold period, the temperature is rarely below zero, Fahrenheit, and even if in a freak the mercury drops 16 to 18 points, the dry air which prevails at an altitude of 6,800 feet has no teeth which give the well man who has any stamina such discomfort as does the sharp breath of the winds that blow from the Atlantic or the Pacific, where the mean winter temperature may be 10 degrees higher.

I say "well man," for if one is ill here it will be certain that his malady has originated elsewhere.

In the hottest days of summer one experiences no sensation of lassitude. When he crosses the threshold of his dwelling he is in a vernal air. He may, if he chooses, consider August, indoors, to be June, and if he is not a victim of insomnia, he may peacefully repose under a blanket for seven hours or as much longer as he may desire.

The summer air is free from humidity, and if one wishes "a rabbit foot," after the hare is caught and the pedal extremity detached, it will be unnecessary to treat the mus-

cular or fatty tissue with arsenic, to preserve the specimen; just hang it in the open air above the reach of dogs and cats, and it will "dry out." Why, shepherds, cowboys and riders on the plains and among the hills "jerk" meat (which is with them an important article of food while they're moving about) just as do the "gauchos" of the Argentine pampas.

Whenever artificial heat is necessary here is plenty of fuel—coal if you desire; wood if you prefer. I used to keep a humming fire evenings, in January, with the odd ends of pine boards and scantling full of resinous pitch, from the mill. Lots of this is burned here. To be sure, this keeps one "firing" at occasional intervals, but it's fun to see the little tongues of flame dart from the ignited blocks, and the melted turpentine ooze from them like syrup.

There's lots of this fuel to be had, for you see Flagstaff is not only in the midst of a livestock, but a timber region as well.

The neighboring forests in summer contribute to the sustenance of both domestic and wild animals.

The timber region begins at San Francisco mountain (which, by the way, the traveler has in his eye from the time he passes Seligman, over one hundred miles west, till he leaves the peak behind him, 50 to 60 miles away), near Flagstaff, and extends over 100 miles east into New Mexico.

This is one of the largest bodies of pine in the country. The material is mainly soft pine, which "goes into" mining timbers, building lumber, boxes and sash and door stuff; the last-named articles are manufactured in about equal proportions, for the eastern and western markets.

The lumber business of this section employs about 550 men the year round. The Arizona Lumber and Timber Co.<sup>12</sup> which has an immense mill beside the railroad track, a mile west of the business heart of the town, owns the Central Arizona Railroad—30 miles of track, four locomotives, 80

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12. The Arizona Lumber & Timber Company is the only one mentioned for Flagstaff in C. A. Higgins' *New Guide to the Pacific Coast: Santa Fe Route*, p. 119. Rand, McNally & Company, 1894.

cars. This line into the timber region connects with the Santa Fe at Flagstaff.

This great forest has recently been made a timber reserve, and under present regulations all rubbish must be removed, so that no fires may occur. Only mature timber is permitted to be cut, giving the younger stock a chance to grow; consequently, there is now promise of a practically inexhaustible growth.

Of the reserve,

MR. T. A. REIRDON,<sup>13</sup> president of the A. L. & T. Co., who, moreover, is financially interested in the Howard Sheep Co., says: "The government rules, while in the beginning working a hardship upon both the stock and lumber interests, will, in time, no doubt, result in good to all concerned, by reason of wise management, preventing forest fires, preserving young timber, also by not allowing overstocking with sheep or cattle.

"The unusual moisture, this winter, insures a prosperous year for livestock people. The outlook is very promising."

"Flag." has an efficient electric light system and a good fire department. Both the Western Union and Postal Telegraph companies have transfer offices here, the only ones along this line between Los Angeles and Albuquerque. And more important than all its other advantages combined, is a bounteous, perennial spring, six miles away, on the mountainside, whose waters, distilled from the unpolluted snows, are conducted into town, to be drawn in forcible jets, hundreds of feet below, at the family faucets.

Arizona has an excellent school system, one of the best equipped in the Union; an admirable corps of teachers, in school buildings for the elementary and higher departments,

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13. Re Navaho Sheep: "First efforts to improve type and quality were made by the United States Indian Agent, D. M. Riordan, in 1882-84." Wentworth, *Sheep Trails*, p. 547. T. A. Reirdon (sic) was president of the Arizona Lumber and Timber Co. He arrived in Flagstaff in 1884 and joined his brother D. M. R. *Arizona Place Names*. D. M., T. A., and M. J. Riordan were pioneer sheepmen in Coconino County post-1881. Haskett, *op. cit.*, 7:29, 48.

all constructed at the expense of the people of the territory, whose contributions have met and are continuing to meet the requirement for teachers' salaries and all other charges.

The large debt (hundreds of thousands of dollars) necessarily incurred for the foregoing laudable purpose is being speedily wiped out, so it will be seen that the "\$5,000,000 provision for schools" contained in the joint statehood bill will be no bait for these people.

The territory has two magnificently endowed normal schools<sup>14</sup>—the Northern and the Southern; the latter is located at Tempe in Maricopa and the former at "Flag." The building occupied by the Northern school crowns a low knoll just south of the town. This imposing edifice, in architectural design and execution, as well as its interior appointments, is not surpassed by any in older sections. The same compliment, in degree, may justly be paid in regard to the quality of the "faculty" in charge of the school—its personnel, character and professional ability.

An immense amount of business, mercantile and banking, is done in a single year at this point. The big general store of

BABBITT BROS.<sup>15</sup> in the centre of the city (they have also a large establishment at Winslow), occupying with its numerous departments, which contain everything conceivable in the way of merchandise, and its suite of offices on the upper floor, nearly half a block, is a place which a visitor to this town will find it exceedingly interesting to visit. The Navajo blankets—wonderful examples of semi-barbaric art—will for months after first viewing them furnish a visitor with food for thought, whether or not he buys one.

14. The Northern Arizona Normal School, located at Flagstaff, dates from March 11, 1899. Kelly, *Legislative History*, p. 201. Wylls, *Arizona*, p. 179.

15. Charles J. Babbit arrived in Arizona in 1886 and formed a partnership in the cattle industry with brothers David, George, Williams, and Edward J. They were not successful because of low prices and branched out into the mercantile field. *History of Arizona, Biographical*, III:163-64. Record Publishing Co., Phoenix, 1930. The Babbit brothers opened a mercantile store at Flagstaff in 1886. They entered the sheep business toward the end of the century, but only as partner-backers and advisors. Their principal role was marketing the wool which was nearly all sold in Boston. Wentworth, *Sheep Trails*, p. 255.

Babbit Bros., of course, are directly largely interested in sheep husbandry, per se, as well as in traffic in its products and in supplies for the sheep camps.

At the post-office, one dropping in, in the middle of the afternoon, is likely to see, when he peeps through the delivery aperture, a picturesque figure with swarthy face and grave countenance, a party having a decidedly messenger-like manner—the mail carrier from the reservation—a regular government employee who has the same consciousness of his importance as a public functionary as any white official in the department of Indian or postal affairs. The visitor as like as not will also see

MR. THOMAS H. COALTER, the postmaster at Flagstaff,<sup>16</sup> and a prominent citizen of the town, who, with his boys, is likewise financially concerned in the sheep industry.

Mention of the reservation mail carrier further suggests that if, some morning, you were to enter the bank which is located at the southwest corner of the same street on which is the post-office, you would, perhaps, find a couple of stalwart scions of the "native American" race, before the cashier's window, counting out a small pile of silver coin with that sleuth-like care and precision which characterize the Indian when money matters are engaging his attention.

Probably, if he were at the time in town, you would note at the same window the clean-shaven, smiling face of Mr. Pollock, who has, no doubt passed out the "dinero" to these parties and who is watching their manipulation of it with the same kind of interest which you yourself are consciously or unconsciously evincing. This gentleman is connected in a business way with the sheep firm of

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16. The origin of the name Flagstaff is a moot point today. Cf: *Arizona Place Names*. Wyllys, *Arizona*, p. 218; James H. McClintock, *Mormon Settlements in Arizona*, p. 151. Phoenix, Arizona, 1921. Higgins, *New Guide*, p. 119. It became the county seat of Coconino County in 1891. Kelly, *Legislative History*, p. 154; or later per Wyllys, *Arizona*, p. 184. Thomas J. Coalter served as postmaster Sept. 14, 1897, to May, 1906. Theobald, *Post Offices*.

CAMPBELL & FRANCIS,<sup>17</sup> whose headquarters are at "Flag." This concern was mentioned at some length in the preceding letter, as were Mr. Hugh Campbell's views upon the "28-hour law"<sup>18</sup>—views in which his contemporaries emphatically concur. Mr. Hugh was a delegate to the January, 1906, convention of the National Wool Growers' Association held at Denver.

Right across the way from the post-office is Gosney<sup>19</sup> and Perkins' Bank, a thriving institution which, like the concern on the corner of the same street, is rendering inestimable service to the stock men and, in fact, to every species of useful effort incident to this section of the territory.

MR. E. S. GOSNEY, the senior in this enterprise, is too well and favorably known to require on the part of the "Bulletin" any extended notice at this time. (We take pleasure in presenting his portrait in the current issue.) He is, at present, enjoying a much needed and richly deserved rest in southern California. His necessary absence from the territory at this time explains why he was not present at the Denver (1906) meeting of the National Wool Growers' Association, a happening which must otherwise have wakened a good deal of surprise in that body in which for years he has been a familiar figure.

Before this gentleman's departure in the early days of the new year for California, he presided at the annual meeting of the Arizona Wool Growers' Association.

This particular meeting, held at Phoenix, was, for several reasons, of especial importance to the sheep men of

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17. D. M. Francis was a sheepman in Coconino County post-1881. Haskett, *op. cit.*, 7:20, 48; mentioned in Wentworth, *Sheep Trails*, p. 252.

18. See NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW, 38:340 note 20.

19. E. S. Gosney.: A young lawyer, banker, and adviser to many sheepmen in the Territory, and himself an extensive owner of sheep and ranches. E. S. Gosner, was chosen president of the reorganized association, which was renamed and known thereafter as the Arizona Wool Growers Association, the name it bears today. The selection of Gosner, fitted by training, temperament, and inclination to direct the fight for the sheepmen, was most judicious and fortunate. The fight involved closing the forest reservations to grazing. Haskett, *op. cit.*, 7:39, 29, 46. Wentworth, *Sheep Trails*, p. 255.

Arizona Territory. Among such reasons was this, namely, reports were rendered from all parts of the sheep region. These conclusively showed that Arizona has a clean bill of health. Thanks to energetic measures pursued for its eradication, and meritorious co-operation and support, not only of the association, but of sheep men generally, scabies is now but a memory.

Another matter of prime importance was the annual allotment of grazing privileges on the reserves to sheep men, the stock men at this time meeting the superintendent, as is the custom, at a stated time in the year, in all of the sheep states in which land has been withdrawn from entry and settlement, except California, on whose reserves no sheep are allowed.

It may be remarked at this time that in the matter of grazing privileges in each pastoral section in which are large areas of "forest," a good deal of which often contains not even material for fence posts, and is absolutely adapted to no other purpose than grazing, the Bureau of Forestry, which primarily was not favorable to stock grazing on reserves,\* has from time to time, since first permits were granted, revised the regulations in regard to grazing instituted by it.\*\* Sometimes changes have resulted from the recommendation of the superintendents and supervisors, as in 1903 (at least that was the first time that I heard the order promulgated at a meeting of sheep men) when it was decreed that each lamb running with its mother on the reserve should be counted as a sheep, so that a permit to pasture 2,500 "sheep," in case this lot comprised straight ewes, would mean that the permittee could take on the reserve 1,250 ewes and their lambs.

I heard an official reply to a stock man who had remarked that this was giving a great advantage to the owners of

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\* An aphorism coined by one of the agents (I heard it uttered in the state of Washington by a reserve official) was: "We are not concerned in promoting the interests of stock men; our purpose is to protect the forests."

\*\* The bureau at this time was a "sub" of the Interior Department.

“dry sheep,” that “the government would like to have them all ‘dry sheep.’”

This year, in Arizona, I understand from a sheep man who has received notice to this effect, the grazing fees for sheep will be as follows: 5c. per head; 2c extra per ewe for the privilege of taking a ewe band on to the reserve for lambing and 2½c. per head for each lamb.

Sometimes changes favorable to the stock men have been wrought through their own concerted action, which fact is a sufficient argument for organization if no other could be offered.

However, with all the disadvantages which at present exist, most of which will be cured in time, the existing system is on the whole a great thing for the average operator in the stock business. Indeed, it has been his salvation, for its effect at its inception was to cause to vanish forever from the attention of the government the notorious “Leasing Proposition,” which, as late as 1901-1902, syndicates and large individual proprietors were vigorously advocating with both breath and ink, and were straining every nerve to have adopted. The outcome of this, had their efforts been successful, would have been the complete effacement of small proprietors of cattle and sheep.

But sheep are not allowed upon all of the reserves in this territory. In

THE GRAND CANYON RESERVE there's a tract 65 miles by 35 miles in which is not a drop of available “permanent” water, although there are “tanks” for the storage of surface water, constructed by sheep men (before the land was withdrawn from entry) who, under the new order of things, found themselves excluded. Afterward cattle were admitted to this domain and that stock, which is practically permitted to graze all the year at the owners' convenience, slake their thirst at the “water holes” which had earlier been made by the sheep men.

A special grazing privilege has been accorded to “Buf-



falo John," who has a herd of buffaloes and some Persian sheep on the reserve north of the canyon.

It may at this juncture be remarked that the whole story of

"LAND SCRIP" OPERATIONS, if it could be succinctly narrated from the beginning, would be intensely entertaining; Here is a specimen instance of the delights which may accrue to the possessors of "privilege": The S. L. C.,<sup>20</sup> a lumber concern, bought a land grant, situated perhaps 20 miles northwest of Flagstaff; this embraced considerable timber land. The price paid is alleged to have been in the neighborhood of \$1 per acre. The company reserves the timber, but turns the land over to the government, receiving in return scrip which can be placed on any government land which is vacant, and which the company sells at \$3@ \$4 per acre. Incidentally the government is protecting the timber for the lumber concern, until it shall be ready to have it cut.

As a rule, anywhere in the far West where timber land concessions had been made, after the timber had been cut, the land reverted to the proprietor (grantee), who conveyed it back to the government in consideration of scrip.

In the early concessions to lumbermen, no restrictions, in regard to cutting, were placed upon the grantees.

ARIZONA RAMBOUILLET RAMS. Ever since the first utilization of the pastoral portions of the great Intermountain\* region for the production of wool and mutton (the pastoral regions comprise a good deal of the whole), the breeding of sires for use in the flocks there grazing has been a highly important and remunerative industry—one in which a goodly number of men (whose names are familiar as household words to flockmasters), on the Pacific Coast, in the

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20. Col. Edward E. Ayer was a member of the California Column in the Civil War. He erected a large lumber mill at Flagstaff and cut timber for the railroad. He sold his business, the Ayer Lumber Co., to his local managers, the Riordan brothers, who renamed it the Arizona Lumber Co. Greever, *Arid Domain*, p. 51: Wyllys, *Arizona*, p. 288; for necrology see *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, 2:306-7 (July, 1927).

\* And, in fact, a good deal of the country east of the Rockies and west of the Missouri river.

middle West, and later in Idaho and Utah have achieved fame and fortune, and deservedly, inasmuch as, by the exercise of remarkable skill, these parties have developed the art of breeding to a point as near perfection as is possible within natural limitations. But until the indefatigable John E. Keith with Merinos in Idaho, and, in the same state, Governor F. R. Gooding with Downs, and in Utah, J. R. Allen & Bros., with Downs,\*\* John H. Seely,\*\*\* W. S. Hansen, the Intermountain Sheep Co.,\*\*\*\* James Kirke & Bros.,\*\*\*\*\* and other breeders of sheep of the Merino type\*\*\*\*\* had produced such stock that these parties had gained positions in the front rank of American sheep breeders, flockmasters were obliged to resort to the middle West or to Oregon or California for rams of good quality.

The Pacific states, as well as Ohio and Michigan, were the great nurseries of such stock.

Indeed, up to date, as a general thing, the breeding of thoroughbred sires has not yet been a success in Wyoming, Montana, Colorado, New Mexico, or even in Arizona, except in the instance of

DENT & SAYER,<sup>21</sup> of Flagstaff, whose advent in this field in 1904-1905 was an event in the history of the territory.

I have sought to place stress upon the term "thoroughbred," for any one who knows anything about "Merino"<sup>22</sup>

\*\* Allen & Bros. have probably the largest flock of Cotswolds in the world.

\*\*\* President of the American Rambouillet Association, and a famous breeder of that class of stock.

\*\*\*\* Breeders of fine, hardy sheep adapted to range purposes.

\*\*\*\*\* Among the most successful of the younger breeders.

\*\*\*\*\* As, for example, Joseph H. Wright, Wilford Day, Heber Bennion and Peter C. Petersen.

21. Joseph Dent and Thomas Sayers, half brothers, British, located at Flagstaff and raised pure-bred or highly graded Rambouillet rams in the late 1890's. The initial flock of ewes was obtained from Baldwin Sheep Company of Hay Creek, Oregon. Haskett, *op. cit.*, 7:35; Wentworth, *Sheep Trail*, p. 255.

22. The Merino is a fine wool sheep of Spanish origin. There are four types. The United States has the American Merino and the Delaine. The Merino became the basis for the nineteenth century expansion in the apparel wool production. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1961; Yavapai County contains 300,000 sheep; Apache County has over 600,000. The greater part are improved Mexican breeds, worth from \$1.50 to \$2.00 per head. Good Merino sheep that shear 8 pounds of wool per annum sell readily at \$3.50 per head. Governor of Arizona, *Annual Report*, 1885, p. 899, 49 Cong., 1 Sess., HED 1, pt. 5 [2379].

sheep raising in the West (using the name "Merino" in its broadest sense) is well aware that it is a maxim among the best experienced flockmasters whose herds come in the Merino category: "Keep the best grade ewes you can get which are suitable for your range, but always use 'thoroughbred' sires!"

Dent & Sayer, who having been born with sheep, and having all their lives had to do with the "creatures," and being thoroughly familiar with all classes of English and Scotch sheep (they were born in northern Yorkshire on the border of North Britain), as well as being intimately acquainted with every phase of the Merino type, believing that for a great deal of the territory west of the Rockies the Rambouillet as an "all-round sheep" was, on the whole, the best adapted, resolved that the fine breeding stock which they designed to import be in fact, as well as in name, pure blood.

"We'll bring into Arizona, regardless of expense," said they, "as good as the best that can be found on the continent."

So Mr. Dent, who like J. V., who was then with the H. C. outfit, is one of the best judges of sheep in the country, journeyed into the heart of Oregon, and arriving at the big establishment of the B. S. & L. Co., selected (personally picked out) 950 pure-blood two-year-old Rambouillet ewes, direct in descent from the 130 which Mr. J. G. Edwards<sup>23</sup> personally selected in France and imported to Oregon in 1900.

Those who have perhaps never seen the matchless stock of the original Hay Creek importation, but have heard much in regard to it, can possibly imagine what the dams of Dent & Sayer's fine lambs (whose sires were Baldwin rams) were like.

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23. J. G. Edwards imported Rambouillet into Oregon in 1900. He had been a large scale sheepman in Wyoming and contested with cattlemen for the Colorado range. He sold out in 1889 and located on Hay Creek Ranch in Oregon. Wentworth, *Sheep Trails*, pp. 532f. He was born in Wales and arrived in the United States in 1872. *Ibid.*, appendix.

I've heard, upon what I deem authority, that the then manager of the B. S. & L. Co. demurred to Mr. Dent's proposition to take out of their flock this large number of picked ewes, even at the round price offered. But Dent was stubborn in his determination to have these or none.

Dent & Sayer likewise obtained some of the best Baldwin<sup>24</sup> rams from superior French and German stock, and later from Ohio imported pure-blood Rambouillet rams of the French Gilbert and German Von Homeyer stocks. Among these was a famous 1905 prize winner previously owned by Mr. Farris, of Liberty.

This concern, while owners of thousands of sheep, raising annually thousands of pounds of wool, and large numbers of "muttons" just like other Arizona sheep men, have an entirely separate breeding establishment for their fine stock, wide apart from the rest of their large herd.

Either Mr. Sayer or Mr. Dent is all the time with the fine lamb flock and attends to the weeding process from the moment at which it is possible to determine what a lamb is going to make. These people never allow anything to go out of their place which is not first class.

But it will be found upon examination of their ram lamb flock that it is characterized by great uniformity in respect to structure, size and covering.

The foregoing remark applies to the herds of all the best American breeders of pure-blood stock. Alvin Crittenden, the celebrated Ohio breeder of Delaines, once remarked to me, while he was viewing the yearling Delaine group (then 1,500) at Hay Creek:

"This is a wonderful example of skill in breeding. About every individual is an average of the whole flock in regard to structure, size, and density and quality of its fleece."

Substantially the statement of this expert will apply to

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24. The Dent and Sayers foundation of Rambouillet ewes was purchased from Baldwin Sheep Co. of Hay Creek, Oregon. Haskett, *op. cit.*, 7:35.

the stock of all our first-class American sheep breeders, whether of Merinos or Downs. We have in this country made such pace in this as in every other field of effort, that practiced American breeders of livestock may literally say to a prospective buyer: "Give me an accurate idea of what you want and I'll produce it."

THE RAMS OF DENT & SAYER are strictly range raised, having been fed neither hay nor grain, and are therefore peculiarly fitted for service in range flocks.

Their headquarters and post-office address are at Flagstaff, where they have a residence; they have also an extensive ranch 12 miles south of the town. But one or both of them will always be found during the winter season at their big plant on Cataract Wash among the Dog Knobs, 45 miles northwest of "Flag."

This is off the Grand Canyon branch of the Santa Fe. A branch from this G. C. road into the D. & S. outfit's place, I understand, is a quite possible "near future" happening. The nearest side station (switch) at present is Wilaha.

The facilities at Kendrick, their present breeding station, are first class; there the feed is a month to six weeks earlier than at "Flag"—the elevation being 1,800 feet less; there is the large reservoir, in constructing which this hustling firm utilized the crater of an extinct volcano.

A word at this point in regard to the Baldwin sires, which were used in the aforesaid flock of choice ewes and which were selected expressly for that purpose. These were out of imported stock (thoroughbred sires and dams), and were large-boned, heavy-fleeced, good shearing sheep (25 pounds clip per head). They were two-year-olds and averaged two hundred pounds weight, each.

SHEEP FACTS. Mr. Sayer firmly believes that the Rambouillet is "the easiest and best kept sheep, the hardiest as well as the most productive."

Speaking of their range flock (aside from their fine

stock) and the care of them, this gentleman says it costs at least \$1.25 per head (per year) to run them.

The help, principally New Mexicans, is good. These men understand herding. They know how to carefully handle the sheep and how to properly use the sheep dogs. A good herder, standing at the right point of view, unseen by the sheep, with part of the band in sight, can tell what those unseen are doing by the actions of those seen.

As to dogs, he prefers full-blooded collies. "They are," says he, "highly intelligent and want to work; if their zeal is at times too ardent, they can be restrained."

It costs \$15 per month, per man, to feed the help. When judicious care is exercised the year round, Mr. S. thinks loss of sheep should not exceed 6 per cent to 8 per cent. The most serious cause in his experience is "black bag."

Necessarily, a great deal of salt is used. A band of 2,000 will consume 250 pounds every ten days. "Keep sheep well salted," allows Mr. Sayer, "and let them have plenty of water when feed is dry, and there will be no trouble with loco."

While this gentleman, like every other citizen of this territory, so far as I know, would prefer independent statehood,<sup>25</sup> he is disposed to philosophically await the outcome of impending legislation, whatever it may be, and is losing no sleep.

If, in the freaks of politics, "jointure" should be accomplished he doubts that the sheep business will be materially affected one way or the other.

At Mr. Sayer's Flagstaff residence I saw three masterpieces of sheep portraiture with appropriate landscape environment: (a) "Scotch Blackfaces" (by Artist Watson). These are horned sheep like Dorsets, though, unlike the latter, they do not breed out of season. (b) "Half-breeds" (by Artist Tate). Of these sheep, Mr. Sayer remarked: "They

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25. Statehood. see NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW, 38:336 note 15.

are a cross between blackface and Leicester. My father, who was a recognized local authority on the subject of sheep, regarded these as the best kind to keep, for all purposes."

(c) "Cheviots" (by Artist Califano).

These marvels of the animal painter's art (each artist was a recognized genius in his special field) accompanied the annual calendars which are issued by the well-known wool firm of Brown & Adams, Boston,<sup>26</sup> Mass., and are distributed throughout the sheep states.

In Arizona there is paid a liberal bounty on mountain lions and wolves, but a meagre one on coyotes.

Twenty dollars is the price placed upon the head of each lion and a proportionate amount is fixed for each wolf captured or slain, so that hunting for the bounty's sake is stimulated, so far as these two classes are concerned; the hunters can well afford to relinquish the pelts to the county (which in Arizona Territory always retains them upon payment of bounty), but the small sum paid for killing coyotes renders it advisable for the hunter or trapper of such beasts to leave the bounty unclaimed and to himself dispose of the hide.<sup>27</sup>

In fact, quite a business at this point (Flagstaff) is done in coyote skins. Not only are they much employed by northern Arizona ladies for rugs and capes, but a considerable quantity of them are each season exported to St. Louis. Mr. William Friedlein,<sup>28</sup> of the stock firm of

FRIEDLEIN & MORSE who has a sightly array of pelts of predatory animals displayed in his shop, a few doors west of

26. Brown and Adams of Boston were buyers of western wool. See William J. Parish, *The Charles Ilfeld Company*, p. 147 and chapter 10. Harvard University Press, 1961.

27. The chief predators were the mountain lion, bobcat, jaguar, coyote, wolf and bear. The bear were almost exterminated. A. A. Nichol, "Large Predator Animals," University of Arizona, *General Bulletin*, No. 3. April 1, 1936. Offering bounties on predators was practiced from early English period, but was not so effective in the trans-Missouri region. It was also opposed by trappers and professional hunters. Fraud was practiced by offering substitutes. The Biological Survey published a descriptive study in 1909; finally resorted to salaried hunters in the West. Wentworth, *Sheep Trails*, p. 483f.

28. William Friedlein. I have no information on him.

the bank, hunts and traps wolves, cats and coyotes. He tells me that he has 50 traps out at the camp.

This gentleman, who was formerly in the sheep business and went through the disastrous period 'twixt '93 and '97 nothing daunted, is on the eve of re-embarkation in the industry. At present the firm have cattle and horses. Mr. F. conducts a plumbing, tin plate and machine repairing business. He is a remarkably clever artisan.

I also met in Flagstaff young

MR. DENNIS S. HIBBIN,<sup>29</sup> son of H. S. Hibbin, Esq., of the county recorder's office. These gentlemen, I understand, are also contemplating keeping sheep. The young man has had experience with both Angoras and sheep.

Last, but not least, among those whom it was my privilege to see in "Flag.," must be mentioned the genial editor and publisher of

THE COCONINO "SUN,"<sup>30</sup> a live weekly, which in its news columns keeps the people in the outlying districts accurately informed in regard to happenings in town, and in its advertising columns touches on the multiplicity of articles which they may be able to secure when they visit this city. At the same time, it posts the citizens concerning what may be doing in the other counties of the territory, and in the little world outside of Arizona.

The tone of this publication seems to me calmly conservative, which I should say indicates that its director comes not in the class of sensational newspaper men. I suppose that he would not be unduly exercised by anything short of an eruption from one of the extinct volcanoes in the range to the north and northwest of the town. At least, I have not heard that either his printing press or himself was unbalanced

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29. See note 5.

30. The Coconino Sun was established at Peach Springs in 1882 under the name of *Arizona Champion*. It was transferred to Flagstaff February 2, 1883, and the name was changed. C. M. Funstron was editor and publisher from 1898 to 1907. Estelle Lutrell, "Newspapers and Periodicals of Arizona 1859-1911." University of Arizona, *General Bulletin* 15, XX, No. 3 (July, 1949).



when the earth quaked at Flagstaff at 25 minutes of 2 p.m., on the 25th of January, 1906.<sup>31</sup> I have heretofore declared that this is one of the most interesting spots in the territory. One need not for a moment doubt the correctness of my assertion. Why, Nature exerts herself in order to invest the situation with interest, when local affairs are otherwise quiet.

I was sitting in my room at the aforesaid time when suddenly a rumbling roar rent the air, and in the next second the compact two-story house was shaken as though the walls were coming down; you could see them sway in the first severe shock, which was followed during a dozen seconds by a series of forcible vibrations each more intense than I had experienced in California on a similar occasion.

Each motion was very sensibly felt throughout the town. At some points the effect just stopped short of creating a panic.

Some chimneys were fractured and possibly some bricks may have been detached; plastering dropped from walls, clocks stopped, and pictures swung to and fro like the pendulums of great eight-day timekeepers. Light articles hopped briskly about as though suddenly animated.

My good landlady, Mrs. H., who had never before experienced anything of the kind, and who at the instant of the premonitory roar had entered her kitchen, thought the house was coming down about her ears.

She attributed the "roar" to the bursting of the water

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31. A severe earthquake occurred at Tombstone on May 3, 1887, at 2:48 p.m. "In *Science*, 1887, May 20, p. 483, under the heading, *The Sonora Earthquake*, is a good account by G. E. Goodfellow, of the shock at Tombstone, Arizona. At this place there were loud detonations. The severe shaking lasted 10 seconds, the moderately severe about 20, and tremors a little over one minute. . . . The railroad track of the A. T. and St. F. R. R., at a point where it ran east and west, was thrown 4½ inches out of line, the convexity looking south. The bend was 300 feet long. . . . The center is probably south of Fronteras. At San Bernardino Ranch, 90 miles southeast of Tombstone, all the houses were thrown down. . . ." Edward S. Holden, *A Catalogue of Earthquakes on the Pacific Coast 1769 to 1897*, p. 115-116. Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, 1898. John A. Rockfellow, *Log of an Arizona Trail Blazer*, Tucson, 1935. Reprint by *Arizona Silhouettes*, Tucson, 1955.

pipes, but was at a loss to what cause she should assign such disaster; she was yet more puzzled when she saw her neighbors (women) running out of their houses.

At school, the younger children, of course, instinctively rushed for the door, bent on seeking safety outside, and the plucky schoolma'am, after vainly endeavoring to allay the excitement and stay the flight of the little boys and girls, weepingly gave up the undertaking, and some say followed the children. However, all were back in their usual places when it appeared that the disturbance was over.

Yet there was another faint shock, later in the afternoon, but this attracted slight attention, as did a third, which occurred toward nightfall.

Aside from the mental disturbance of some of the good people of the place, the only serious consequence of the shock was the temporary check of the flow of water through the pipe from the mountainside spring. Investigation showed that the "cutting off" of the supply was due to the falling of a mass of rocks and earth upon the pipes at some distance below the spring.

Large limbs and even sections of the trunks of trees were broken off during the disturbance, as well as quantities of earth and stone displaced.

These facts led to the not unreasonable conjecture that the movement on the mountainside was much fiercer than upon the high plain at its feet.

Some, indeed, imagined that the force originated in the subterranean depths, directly under this particular mountain.

WINSLOW,<sup>32</sup> 60 miles east of "Flag," and another busy

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32. The A. & P. RR. established its terminal at Winslow in November of 1881. F. G. Demerest had a tent on the site in late 1880. The town was probably named for General Edward Winslow, president of the St. Louis and San Francisco RR., although Tom Winslow, a prospector living at Meyer, made the claim in 1920 that the town was named for him. The Railroad Company often attached the name of an employee to a site along the right of way. Cf. *Arizona Place Names* and Wyllys, *Arizona*, p. 218. A post office was established on January 10, 1882, with U. L. Taylor as the first postmaster. Theobald, *Post Offices*.

place like its neighbor at the west, owes its present importance to the railroad business done within its limits.

The population is 1,800, which, aside from the merchants and stock men who reside here, comprises almost every grade of employe in the service of the Santa Fe company. Their dwellings are neat one-story brick cottages, all nearly uniform in style, generally having a veranda or two on front or side.

The Santa Fe has at this point

A FINE READING-ROOM, in which I passed a delightful evening. All the important western newspapers of the day were on file, and around the long broad tables employees of the road who were at the moment off duty were seated, reading or studying. I saw a young fellow carefully conning phonographic hieroglyphics which he has made on slips—he was evidently endeavoring to master the art of shorthand; others were reading books taken from the library of the establishment. This comprises a complete list of American historical works—Prescott, Bancroft, Motley, etc.; “The American Statesmen Series”;\* “American Men of Letters,” and a complete set of standard English fiction, as well as translations from French, German and Russian literature.

One bookcase contains a valuable collection of scientific treatises—steam, electric, mining engineering, etc., and in fact in the “periodical” list are publications devoted to special industrial pursuits.

Adjacent to the reading-room is the pool room, in which two persons were engaged in a game.

Men who frequent this establishment have little use for the saloon or such diversions as are often associated with it and are supposed to be fostered by it.

THE SHEEP MEN who reside in this place, all of whom I saw, and who, in the aggregate, own 40,000 to 50,000 sheep,

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\* The first instance in the annals of literature of truly impartial biography.

are W. W. Perkins, of Perkins & Noble; Wm. H. Dagg; C. E. Wyrick and T. Hart.<sup>33</sup>

I found parties in this section generally in favor of SHEARING MACHINES. One gentleman remarked to me: "You get on the average 18 ounces more wool per head by machine shearing. The shorter the fleece is cut, the faster it grows. Hand shearing 'pulls the wool, pulls the flesh' and cuts the staple different lengths."

"THE OPEN RANGE PROPOSITION" says the same gentleman, "is very important. We agree that the 'reserve' has in a general way been a good thing for us, but the trouble is that we can never figure ahead more than one season.

"In our business 'we've got to calculate ahead!' We've just received notice of additional charges for lambing on the reserve—2c. per head for ewe bands going on to lamb; 2½c. for each lamb which comes. The government has fixed the amount of lambs for which charge will be made at 80 per cent of a ewe band."

LOSS OF SHEEP on the range out from Winslow may reach 15 per cent. Among the causes is the "dropping out of small bunches." Again, in June and July not a few deaths happen from the animals eating "genuine" larkspur<sup>34</sup> when this bane is at its maturity. The poison seems particularly to affect the forequarters of the sheep. They move forward with difficulty, then "stiffen up," and finally die.

33. William H. Dagg, immigrant from Ireland in 1884, settled in Winslow three years later, having come west for reasons of health. He was a merchant and sheepman. *History of Arizona*, 4:513. Record Publishing Company, Phoenix, 1933. Haskett, *op. cit.*, 7:48. W. W. Perkins was a sheepman in Coconino County post-1891. *Ibid.* I have no references for T. Hart and C. E. Wyrick.

34. The larkspur "contain delphinine and other toxic alkaloids. The extent and exact nature of larkspur poisoning is as yet little known, but the tall meadow species are often deadly to cattle, apparently less so to sheep and horses." Thomas H. Kearney and Robert H. Peebles, *Arizona Flora*, p. 307. Berkley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1951.

"Losses from eating poisonous growths can also be minimized by putting each kind of stock on its proper grazing areas. For example, sheep can be safely, and are sometimes deliberately, grazed where there is larkspur, harmless to them but dangerous to cattle. On the other hand, cattle are immune to lupines, which were injurious to sheep." Charles Wayland Towne and Edward Morris Wentworth, *Shepherd's Empire*, p. 242. University of Oklahoma Press, 1945.

However, one party here claimed that his loss, "year in and year out," out of a band was less than 50.

They appear in this region to be right after the heaviest shearing stock and want nothing else than a high-grade Merino. They claim that the average weight of fleece is 10 pounds to 11 pounds. One proprietor tells me that in 1900 he had 2,500 head, which clipped on the average 12½ pounds per head. But wool that year brought only 12½c. per pound. In 1905 the average price paid at Winslow was about 17¾c.

Winslow is located upon a broad plain in the valley of the LITTLE COLORADO, a river here two hundred yards wide, which has its source in the White mountains far away to the southeast and enters the great river [the Colorado] 110 miles northeast of Flagstaff.

The valley, throughout its extent, from mesa rim to mesa rim, varies in width from two miles to six and even eight miles. It has nearly the maximum breadth in this vicinity. The town is two miles and one-half from the river bank.

The plain is the surface of a clay deposit of uncertain depth. The clay at this point is much utilized. The cottages in Winslow, mostly constructed of white or yellow specimens of local manufacture, afford a good notion of what is doing in this line, even though one does not step just outside of town to look at the kiln.

A PICTURE BY THE WAYSIDE. About midway of one of the streets which cross the town from north to south, a mass of stratified rock abuts upon the east side of the way, the strata being visible where the rock was broken when the street was built.

The edges of the strata form a vertical wall whose face about coincides with the line of fence in front of the house lots north of the rock formation. The east slope of this mass, which is covered with earth, dips down from the rounded crown of the little hill, which is large enough to permit a score of persons to stand upon it, and high enough to serve for an observatory from which to view the immediate neigh-

borhood. The other day, as I was about to pass this rock, I observed, seated side by side, on the summit, two Navajo women. One of them, who evidently could read writing, was apparently imparting the contents of a letter to the other. These dusky, dark-eyed dames, their black manes coiled, but otherwise out of prison in the clear light of day (these women generally walk unhatted or unhooded), with a "kid" of the same race at their feet, made a picture which constrained the passer-by to pause and contemplate.

And this incident naturally enough suggests some consideration of

THE NAVAJOS as a tribe which is to-day at once the one pastoral and the one textile manufacturing aboriginal group of note among all the trans-Rocky mountain Indians.

There are reckoned to be 22 thousand of these dwelling upon their vast reservation (probably ten thousand square miles in area), which extends from Tuba City, 150 miles northwest of Winslow, east into New Mexico.

All of these people own either sheep or goats or both. The sheep, which are of the Mexican order, yield a coarse, lean, light wool (three or four pounds per head), which is nothing more nor less than the "domestic" carpet wool which in most seasons is on sale in the Boston and Philadelphia markets.

I have heard various estimates of the total number of sheep on the whole reservation, ranging from two hundred fifty thousand to a half million.

The fact that every adult among the 20 odd thousand souls (who comprise at least 3,500 families) owns from 30 to 200 head, leads me to believe that the whole number will not fall short of 300,000.

The methods of these people in the management of their flocks are primitive, and in the matter of time and manner of shearing, their customs are peculiarly their own. They commence to clip their wethers in March, especially if at that time they have animals fat and fit, in their judgment,

for their table, for the families consume a good deal of mutton. Thenceforth they are clipping more or less through the summer.

"Clipping" is the word, for they cut off the fleece in handfuls with knives. Indeed, if shears came in their way they would be likely to remove the rivet which fastens together the blades, take one of them and sharpen it to use as a knife.

They have sheep whose wool is of various shades, white, black, brown ("coffee color") and gray. The last-named is unique; the pigment is so distributed that the wool has the appearance of having been artificially dyed with consummate skill.

Though the sheep are light shearers, yet from the large number of them there is a great quantity of it grown yearly, in weight mounting into the hundreds of thousands of pounds. A portion of this ultimately reaches the eastern markets, but first of all much of it, perhaps the largest part (at least that has happened in the past), is employed in the handiwork that has made these people famous, i. e., the manufacture of

**NAVAJO BLANKETS.** In the various phases of this industry, young, middle-aged and old participate (females for the most part). Among these "artisans" are many who are marvels of expertness. Children five years old are set at carding and at eight or ten years some of them are able to construct the different "implements" (except the cards), including the spinning and weaving apparatus.

**SOMETHING ANENT METHODS.** First: For blanket purposes, after the wool has been washed and the coarsest, long-stapled stock, which, in their judgment, is adapted to their needs, has been selected, necessary portions of it are dyed different shades.

The coloring matter is procured through Indian traders (sometimes the same parties who handle quantities of their "wares") from eastern manufacturers. Some of the material, for example, comes from Foxcroft, Me.

In the dyeing of wool some of these people are exceedingly clever. Their excellent taste in blending the hues in a fabric is manifest both in the "loud patterns"—the real "Navajos"—and in the sober grays and blacks, which, I dare say, "refined and cultured" tourists would select by preference, although such patterns are a thousand leagues away from the traditional notion of an Indian blanket.

The carding is done with the oldtime hand implements which New England farmers' wives used a half century or more ago. These are obtained from New England, perhaps from Worcester, Mass., and usually through the same medium as the dye-stuffs.

THE SPINNING is accomplished by means of an instrument which may be described as a staff (an "arrow") two and one-half feet long, to which, three inches from the top, is attached a small reel. The principle of this device and of the operation which is performed with it, is that of the ancient distaff. These tawny spinsters have their own knack of drawing out the thread and "twisting" with their deft fingers.

WEAVING. When the yarn—warp and filling—is ready for use in the construction of the fabric, the steps thenceforth are similar to those pursued by the "tapestry weavers" at the Gobelins in Paris.

A frame adapted in its dimensions to the size of the fabric which is to be wrought is firmly established in an upright (vertical) position by means of guy lines. In this the warp threads, extending longitudinally from top to base of the frame, are drawn with sufficient tension. Then the weft threads of several hues are cunningly filled in.

Aside from the rudeness of the implements used here and the coarseness of the material, the main difference between the feat achieved by the Navajo woman who has fashioned a picturesque blanket and that of the "artist" at the Gobelins who has reproduced in silk and worsted an historical or allegorical picture or in woolen or worsted some famous type of carpet, is that she has in her mind every element of the



design which she is to materialize by a combination of the different colored weft threads; while he has his "study" placed above and before him in front or rear of the frame, according to whether he is making a picture or a carpet; and that he uses a diminutive shuttle called a "spoulin" for "throwing" the filling among and across the warp threads, while she effects the same purpose by means of a flat stick, 12 to 15 inches long, curved at one end so that it resembles the blade of a carving knife.

I have before me at the moment one of these "knives," as I have also a small weaving frame\* with the warp in place, partially filled in.

A PATTERN. The design of the little unfinished picture before me has for its borders, which are in yellow, a series of lateral segments of pine cones whose apices are tending inward in such a manner that the adjacent edges of each two constitute two sides of a triangle. These spaces are filled (on either border of the pattern) by the projecting segments of a large frustum of a pine cone in slate color, which forms the body of the design. Across the large figure extends a column of smaller frustums, their colors being in the following serial order, from the base to the top of the pattern; two in blue, one in olive green and three in black.

SOME NAVAJO DESIGNS. The "bows and arrows" is a magnificent production. A specimen of this pattern is before me at the moment. The groundwork is a deep scarlet. Two bows (black), two feet long, are placed at each end; their strings (white), extending inward in the same line from opposite sides, reach points six inches from each other.

Twelve arrows, whose shafts are alternately blue and black, are arranged in parallel lines on either side, four or five inches apart, the barbs of each two opposite arrows being about three inches from a point in a line which might be

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\* It might earlier have been remarked that the desired thickness of the fabric is obtained by using the requisite number of sets of warp thread, each set having its own "beam" at the top the frame.

conceived to be drawn right through the centre of the surface of the rug.

The feathers of the arrows are alternately blue and white.

The two arrows midway along in the series are but a foot long, so that the spaces between their points on either hand and the centre of the rug furnish position for two opposite angles of a large rhombus or lozenge ("diamond"), whose centre is identical with the centre of the fabric.

The border of the lozenge, two inches wide, is blue and encloses a white ground in the centre of which is a blue lozenge, within which is a red Greek cross. Between each pair of short arrows, two inches from the longer edges of the rug, and opposite the angles of the rhombus, is a blue Greek cross. At the corners of the rug are tassels—bunches of blue and black threads.

The production of this fabric required six months' steady labor. The present proprietor wants \$75 for it.

The "lightning pattern" is another one among the countless Navajo triumphs.

An example of this is a rug, four feet by five feet, I should say, with scarlet ground and a fringe of light blue, red and yellow threads at the ends.

Across either end of the fabric, perhaps three inches from the edge, is a column of six-sided polygons, the base of the uppermost resting upon the top of the one beneath it, and so on to the other side of the rug.

Three sides of each hexagon in the one series are pale yellow; the other three are in the uppermost and lowest figures dark blue in two of the hexagons, and deep green in the remainder.

From the sides of the figures within and without colored rays project which embrace all the previously mentioned shades.

Four series of smaller polygons, similarly "shaded," having colored "rays" projecting from their sides, extend along parallel lines across the rug from the angles of the larger

hexagons in one series to the corresponding angles in the other series of large figures.

The sides of the adjacent figures in the continuous course of the broken lines thus formed are supposed to represent the jagged path of a lightning flash.

The variety of patterns is endless, and the name of the combinations of shades and of the devices used in the expression of ideas is legion.

There are blankets and rugs with groundwork of gray whose designs simply involve weaves of black and blue yarn—sober productions which appear to be highly appreciated by wealthy connoisseurs, some of whom have been willing to pay as high as \$200 for a fabric which hit their fancy. The "rareness" of these "serious" specimens is said partly to explain their "value"; 'tis alleged that few if any of these are now being made.

In some of the rugs and blankets, "Germantown yarn," it is averred, is employed for the weft. Whether this was spun from Navajo or eastern wool, I know not.

One dealer in "Navajos" assures me that in a few instances some Rhode Island wool (which he furnished the Indians) was used for filling.

Jobbers who collect these fabrics in quantities, both from country traders to whom the Indians have bartered the goods, have in the past done a very lucrative business, as have the curio dealers. To-day I should imagine that the supply of genuine Navajos would fall somewhat short of the demand.<sup>35</sup>

Winslow is one of several railroad points which are in direct communication with the reservation. The nearest station upon the Santa Fe to the heart of that district I believe to be

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35. For a history of the Navaho blanket, see Charles Avery Amsden, *Navaho Weaving: Its Technic and History*. The Fine Arts Press, Santa Ana, California; 1934. An insight into Navaho life is presented in Robert L. Wilken, O.F.M., *Anselm Weber, OFM, Missionary to the Navaho, 1898-1921*. Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1952. *Son of Old Man Hat. A Navaho Autobiography*. Recorded by Walter Dyk Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York 1938.

HOLBROOK,<sup>36</sup> 33 miles farther up the valley of the Little Colorado. This stream has its source in the Zuni mountains, 100 miles southeast of Holbrook, flows southeast through a level valley and<sup>36a</sup> joins the great Colorado at the head of the Grand Canyon. At Holbrook it receives the waters of the Puerco.

The Santa Fe line, which at this place extends along the north bank of the river, traverses its valley for 40 miles, passing through alfalfa fields near St. Joseph,<sup>37</sup> for the region is beginning to be agriculturally developed. Of the possibilities in this direction more anon.

Since the first settlement in 1879, four years earlier than the advent of the A. & P. Ry., now a part of the great Santa Fe system, the staple industry has been the raising of cattle, sheep and horses. Every season large herds of each class of stock have grazed upon the plains, hills and mountainsides of this section. However, with the exception of the Aztec Land and Cattle Company,<sup>38</sup> which used to run 50,000 to 60,000 head of cattle upon the open range in this (Navajo) county, the largest and most numerous proprietors of stock were sheep men. Sheep were as now in the ascendency, and

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36. John W. Young, contractor for the A. & P. RR., named Holbrook in honor of H. R. Holbrook, railroad official, in 1882. *Arizona Place Names*. The site was first occupied in 1880. Wyllys, *Arizona*, pp. 218, 276. James H. Wilson was appointed postmaster January 10, 1882. Dike, *Territorial Post Offices*.

36a. The Little Colorado rises in the White Mountains and flows north, west, north-west to join the Colorado.

37. Mormon immigrants arrived on the Little Colorado March 24, 1876. Their location was first called Allen's Camp until May 26, 1876, when the name was changed to Joseph City. The name was changed to St. Joseph January 21, 1878, but the railroad company objected because of confusion with St. Joseph, Missouri. The name was again changed to Joseph October 31, 1898, and to Joseph City December 19, 1923. John McLaws, the first postmaster, was appointed January 21, 1878. *Arizona Place Names*. Theobald, *Post Offices*, gives August 25, 1876, for the first postmaster. Dike, *Territorial Post Offices*. Cf. McClintock, *Mormon Settlements*, p. 138.

38. The Aztec Land and Cattle Company was organized in 1884 by parties interested in the A. & P. RR. It secured one million acres of RR. land at 50¢ south of the tracks between Holbrook and Flagstaff, ninety by forty miles. Sanford A. Mosk, *Land Tenure Problems in the Santa Fe Railroad Grant Area*, p. 12. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1944. Greever, *Arid Domain*, pp. 13, 46. Wyllys, *Arizona*, p. 246. This cattle company was popularly known as the Hashknife and is mentioned as fighting the sheepmen in Wentworth, *Sheep Trails*, p. 253.

easily so because of the natural adaptability of the country around to the peculiar needs of these animals, in all seasons.

In summer they could find grass browse and water in plenty in the mountains, and in fall and winter could feed upon the nutritious grasses—gramma, blue stem etc.—which thrive upon the plains and among the low foothills.

The hills 50 miles south of Holbrook at the foot of the timber belt, in easy reach of the summer range, afforded first-class facilities for lambing from early in April till June. Losses were and are rare and insignificant.

The highly nutritious character of the grasses indigenous to this region is claimed to have been proved by careful tests of the relative amount of nutriment contained in these and in the wild growths of sections more than 1,500 miles farther east.

For example, it is declared to have been demonstrated that one pound of the gramma and bunch grass of this part of northern Arizona has as much value for stock feed as five and one-fourth pounds of the wild growth of Nebraska and Kansas.

Therefore as a consequence of its grazing advantages this has been an important wool and mutton growing section.

In 1905 1,250,000 pounds of wool were shipped from Holbrook. For 1906 careful estimates place the prospective shipment at 3,000,000 pounds, on account of the small sales of sheep which have occurred. In fact, no sheep have been shipped from Holbrook this season.

The wool transportation rate to Boston and Philadelphia is \$2.38 per hundredweight.

In 1905 325 "deck loads," 130 head per "deck," went from Holbrook to the Missouri river and Chicago markets.

The rate per 36-foot doubledecker car was \$132 to Kansas City; \$165 to Chicago.

"Who are the prominent proprietors of sheep in Navajo country?" it may be asked. The reply would be, "They are all prominent." In Holbrook about every merchant not only

owns sheep, but gives more or less personal attention to the details of the business of running them, and if I name first in order,

MR. JOHN R. HULET,<sup>39</sup> treasurer of the Arizona Wool Growers' Association, 'tis simply because the initial letter of his surname comes earlier in the alphabet than that of any of the others. This gentleman is a native of Utah, of Yankee stock; I have an idea that his progenitors were among those pioneers who early came through Emigrant canyon. He settled in Little Colorado valley in '79, two years before work commenced upon the railroad in this part of the country, and commenced merchandising (he is at present manager of the "Co.—Op." Mercantile Institution in Holbrook), trafficking with Indians and whites, furnishing supplies to stockmen and other settlers, doing more or less of a barter business, and incidentally a banking business, as he and his contemporary traders are doing today.

Having had for years previously intimate financial relations with sheep men, he himself naturally enough drifted into sheep husbandry in 1894, and has been ever since continually "in sheep."

His first venture was in a mixed lot ranging from Mexican to graded sheep. Of course he immediately began improving his herd, "running into Shropshires and then back," the rams for this purpose having been imported from the East, afterward crossing with French Merino stock from California. He has at present a herd of fine medium grade Merinos which, in 1905, clipped 8 pounds per head (averaging that). Wool at Holbrook last season sold for 15c. to 17½c. per pound. Previous to the past two seasons the fleece of the sheep has hardly paid the expense of running them; but there has been a margin of profit on the wool at the prices which have since prevailed.

In a dry year the expenses are double and the losses are

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39. John R. Hulet was a sheepman in Navaho County post-1891. *Haskett, op. cit.*, 7:48. And superintendent of the Arizona Cooperative Mercantile Institution at Woodruff and Holbrook. *History of Arizona*, 4:25.

greater. There have been, however, but two really severe seasons in the past eight or nine years; the losses, therefore, in most seasons have been insignificant.

The reserve and the regulations instituted in regard to grazing have been, on the whole, highly beneficial to the sheep industry; indeed, this gentleman declares that if his flock could not go upon the government summer range he would retire from the sheep business.

He pays herders \$30 per month and "found," and estimates that it costs, "all told," 70c. to \$1 per head per year to maintain the herd.

Lambing commences about the 10th of April. In normal years 75 per cent to 80 per cent of the lambs "dropped" are saved. The practice has been, usually, to keep the ewes for the flock. Wethers brought \$3 per head in 1905.

Speaking further in regard to losses, he says: "In any ordinary year, at the farthest, loss among the old sheep will not exceed five per cent and may be no more than two per cent. Drought and lack of water, following a dry winter, are mainly responsible for such as we experience in this county, although in one section there is a poisonous weed which creates uneasiness among the flocks on the summer range."

MR. J. L. SCORCE,<sup>40</sup> who keeps a large general store at Holbrook, was one of the earliest, if not the first, white settler here, where he located in 1879. Before reaching what is now Navajo county, Arizona, he had become familiar with all sections of the country west of Dakota; indeed, it would be difficult to name a stock-raising or mining region, from central Montana to the Klamath country in southern Oregon and northern California, in which he has not sojourned or which, at least, he has not visited, including the "pan handle" of Idaho and Washington.

He was for some time in the Smith river valley, Meagher county, Mont., and in his day was intimately acquainted

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40. Henry H. Scorce located a sheep ranch near Holbrook in 1879 and then turned to the mercantile business. *History of Arizona*, 4:31. Haskett, *op. cit.*, 7:48.

with the old-time stock men of that section, such as the late lamented Dr. Wm. Parberry and Len Lewis. Mr. Scorce seems always to have had a decided predilection for the stock-raising business, and although on his arrival in Arizona he engaged in mercantile affairs, trading with the Indians (incidentally handling lots of their blankets), with home-seekers, miners and people traveling through the country, he from the outset gave a good deal of attention to live-stock. In the '80s he was running sheep for Benson & Co., who brought in a flock from California.

I believe that it was in 1892 that on his own individual account he commenced to run sheep as an industry collateral with his general mercantile enterprise.

Beginning with a half-breed native Merino and Mexican mixed lot, he "brought it up to a 'fine medium.'" This, he believes, is the best kind of sheep to keep on account of the climatic conditions which here prevail. He has especial reference to droughts. "In 1903," says he, "we had to go 15 miles from feed to water."

This gentleman speaks very highly in regard to the summer and winter "feed." "The sheep," he remarks, "running on the reserve, on the Moquione [Mogollón] mountains, find plenty of sagebrush, chenise [chamise] and wild grass, and in winter on the desert sough (in Maricopa) lots of 'filaree' and Indian wheat. 'Filaree' will fatten sheep on the desert in 50 days, and Indian wheat puts on the flesh, when it begins to ripen."<sup>41</sup>

I may say at this point that Mr. Scorce regards the outlook for 1906, in the sheep industry, as very favorable.

He uses French Merino bucks in his herd. In seasons when he does not go "south" with his ewe bands (or at any

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41. Droughts of the 1860's brought sheep from California to Arizona: "Better still, in the wool of these dispossessed flocks were the seeds of alfileria, or *filaree*; and in this casual fashion this excellent forage grass was introduced to thousands of acres of Arizona range country." Towne and Wentworth, *Shepherd's Empire*, p. 254. "Alfileria or filaree (*Erodium cicutarium*) is especially important because of its great abundance. It is believed that alfilaria was introduced into the Southwest at an early date by the Spaniards. Kearney and Peebles, *Arizona Flora*, p. 486. Haskett, *op. cit.*, p. 20.



rate that portion of the ewes which winter here), lambing begins about the middle of April. He generally raises all the ewe lambs. He kept all of last season's crop. Under ordinarily favorable circumstances, one should be able to raise 85 per cent of "the drop." Lambs are sold here from the 20th of July till October. During the past five years the average selling price has been \$2 per head.

Basque<sup>42</sup> and Mexican herders are employed, usually two for each band. These receive \$30 per month, and their "keep" costs \$12 per month additional for each. Mr. Score estimates the annual per capita expense of running his flock at 65c.

The firm of A. & B. Schuster,<sup>43</sup> besides conducting an extensive mercantile business at Holbrook, are considerable proprietors of sheep. The brothers appear to have arranged between themselves a systematic division of labor, whereby one manages affairs in town and the other looks after their stock interests at or near St. John, 60 miles southeast of Holbrook.

JULIUS WETZLER,<sup>44</sup> who has been located for years at Holbrook, is a type of the keen, clever, brainy Hebrew merchant of the day, and is as successful as are supposed to be all the individuals of that class from New York to Frisco, whatever may be their line of operations.

Mr. Wetzler works a miscellaneous field (involving half a dozen specialties besides a general store) apparently prosperously.

He always has a flock of sheep somewhere ranging in the county, and in the years has traded a good deal in sheep and wool; i.e., has extensively bought and sold both stock and staple.

Perhaps it is as "Indian trader" that he is most distinguished, although he has a handful of irons in the fire, none of which he allows to cool.

42. *Ibid.*

43. A. and B. Schuster were sheepmen in Apache County post-1891. *Ibid.*, 7:47.

44. I have no reference for Julius Wetzler.

He talks with the tribesmen who visit his establishment with the same ease with which he converses with the white ranchers and stock men who may be among his occasional patrons. One hardly ever peeps into his big store without finding a group of Indians standing in that part of the shop where the groceries, hardware and general supplies are kept, and when you cast your eyes toward the opposite side of the establishment what you see there induces the reflection that these people "are not a long way from home," for you behold a startling array of Indian curios of all dates, from the pottery and wooden ware of days long gone to the latest productions in blankets and rugs.

In the showcases are trinkets—charms and amulets—among which is the "Swastiza<sup>45</sup> pin" and likewise a clasp for a belt.

The idea involved in the design of this toy, which is said to be of Hindoo origin, is that of "closeness and security." It consists of two metallic bands, each so shaped as to constitute half a rectangle, so combined as to form a quadrilateral. In the central space is a metallic plate bearing on its face some mystic device.

This idea or some modification of it has time and again found expression in Navajo weaves.

Mr. Wetzler's current collection of "Navajos" makes an exhibit which one may study with untiring interest.

The range and variety of patterns, the richness and diversity of coloring and the neatness and precision of the "finish" of the fabric are wonderful. Mr. Wetzler has handled these wares on a large scale for years, and has a special storehouse for such commodities, apart from his general

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45. "The Swastika, when put in a Navajo blanket simply proclaims it a fake. It never had any place whatever with the American Indian, and is a cheap modern impudence of traders who have it woven in to please ignorant customers. Charles Lummis, *Mesa, Cañon, and Pueblo*, p. 176. New York and London: The Century Co., 1925. "If the star and the swastika embody the immemorial legendry of the tribe, why do we not find them in use before the era of mail-order catalogues and rugs made to order?" Amsden, *Navaho Weaving*, p. 219.

warehouse. He receives from all parts of the country more orders than he can fill.

ANOTHER SHEEP MAN out at Woodrun, 12 miles up the Little Colorado from Holbrook, is Clarence Owens,<sup>46</sup> a worthy member of that busy and prosperous community, and in the country 'twixt Woodruff and St. Johns are a number of Mexican proprietors of sheep.

Down at Showlow, 50 miles south, are E. B. Newman and Scott Bros.

Messrs. Newman and Geo. Scott were mentioned at some length in an earlier letter, I having met both of these gentlemen at Phoenix.

MR. C. E. WHITTMORE,<sup>47</sup> whom I first pleasantly encountered at Daggett, Cal., in December last, was several days in Holbrook in February. He was accompanied by his son-in-law, Mr. Jackson, a stalwart Texan—a fine figure of a man, upward of six feet tall, large in proportion and weighing 215 pounds. They have a fine stock ranch in the Showlow country; just how many sheep they have at present I do not know. I understand that they will be running about 20,000 head by the close of the present year or the beginning of the next.

Twelve miles down the valley, on the north side of the river, and a half mile north of the Santa Fe track, is

JOSEPH CITY, a town that in the matters of street plan, arboreal adornment, neat residences, fine schoolhouse and general thrifty air reminds one of similar villages in Sanpete, Juab or Sevier. Bishop Bushman and Mr. Richards, who reside here, have each a few sheep.

Just across the river from Joseph City station, on the Santa Fe line, is the large two-story, roomy adobe mansion, with double-deck veranda in approved southern style extending (sides and ends) completely around it, from which one can view the country as far as the average eye can gaze—

46. Clarence Owens was a sheepman in Navaho County post-1891. Hackett, *op. cit.*, 7:48. He arrived in Arizona in 1870. *History of Arizona*, 4:25.

47. I have no references for C. E. Whittmore.

one even can scan the snowbanks on the eastern slope of the San 'Frisco range,<sup>48</sup> 100 miles away. This was the headquarters in cattle days of the

AZTEC LAND & CATTLE Co. and is the present residence of its manager. This company was organized in 1885. In 1886 it bought a million-acre land grant of the Atlantic & Pacific Ry. Co. (whose successor is the Santa Fe system), a tract beginning at the San Francisco mountains, including their east slope, on which are some fine springs, and extending east 90 miles. This tract, bounded north and east by the Little Colorado river and south by the Mogollon mountains, extends north and south 50 miles. In this vast territory (embracing every alternate section) the company for 15 years ran large herds of stock cattle. It ceased pastoral operations in 1901, having found the running of an immense herd of cattle on the western range, no longer profitable.

The concern is now turning its attention to the agricultural development and the settlement of the country.

To this end the company is bending its energies and incidentally expending much money. The first venture is the "OPENING UP" of the valley of the Little Colorado.

The proprietors have a thousand acres of land on which they desire to settle at least 25 families, for whom they are now preparing the land.

They are putting in a water pumping plant for irrigation.

The reservoir, which covers three and one-half acres and which is eight feet deep, is nearly completed and the water will be ready by the time the settlers have their land ploughed and prepared for seeding next fall.

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48. The San Francisco peaks that tower over Flagstaff.

## HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NEW MEXICO

### *The President's Report, December 14, 1963*

On the evening of December 15, 1859, a number of New Mexico citizens met in the Council Chamber of the Palace of the Governors in Santa Fe to organize a historical society. As a result, on December 26, 1859, the Historical Society of New Mexico was founded. Participating in the activities of the early years were army officers, Territorial officials, churchmen, judges, lawyers, Indian agents, politicians, merchants, publishers and members of the Territorial assembly. This was a remarkable group—cross-section of the elite in Santa Fe society.

The serious-mindedness of their efforts is attested to by the nature of the qualifications for membership. An application was required in writing, with recommendation of two members, and held to the next regular meeting when a three-fourths ballot was needed for confirmation. When elected, the member was assigned to a section for active participation: history, geography, Indian races, geology and mineralogy, antiquities and collections, meteorology and climatology, natural history, agriculture, statistics, botany, and biography.

The first president was Col. John B. Grayson who, within four years, was to die with the rank of a Confederate major-general. The first regular meetings were held in an adobe building on the ground where St. Vincent Hospital is presently located. Territorial Chief Justice Kirby Benedict (famed orator and good friend of Abraham Lincoln) addressed the first meeting.

The Civil War disrupted the Society which adjourned September 23, 1863, until December 27, 1880. For a number of years the Society contributed to the social, cultural and economic well-being of New Mexico. Then it fell upon dark days and became little more than a memory with the record

of its former contributions nearly buried in the pages of unwritten history. Your present officers, together with a few staunch partisans, determined that it must not die.

For the record, we set forth some of the accomplishments of the past year: Two publications were prepared: *Organizing Local Chapters of the Historical Society of New Mexico*, and *Hall of Fame Essays*, seven bulletins were distributed to the membership.

The first annual New Mexico Hall of Fame banquet was held on June 22 at the *Western Skies* in Albuquerque, honoring Francisco Vásquez de Coronado, Stephen Watts Kearny, Patrick Jay Hurley, Dennis Chavez and Clinton Presba Anderson. This banquet (and a later exhibit of Hall of Fame portraits at the New Mexico State Fair) was publicized throughout New Mexico and surrounding states: there were 178 separate press releases—73 from Albuquerque, 92 from other cities in New Mexico, and 13 from out of state. Attendance at the banquet was 300.

By an agreement with The University of New Mexico of June 5, 1963, the Historical Society of New Mexico granted the University complete ownership of the NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW. The University allots two pages in each issue of the REVIEW for Society news, collects the annual \$1.00 membership fee and donations for the Society. The University also keeps the financial records of memberships and mails bulletins, charging only for postage used. Back issues of the REVIEW, and various Society publications, were transferred to the University for sale.

An agreement is presently being considered between the Society and the Museum of New Mexico whereby possessions of the Society (presently housed in the Museum) will be loaned to the Museum.

During the year we completed arrangements with the Internal Revenue Service for non-profit status.

One of our long range objectives is the affiliation of local

historical organizations throughout the State. A number of groups are contemplating affiliation and two have completed this arrangement—the Historical Society of Southwestern New Mexico at Silver City and the Doña Ana County Historical Society at Las Cruces.

Our present membership is 652—594 regular and institutional, 46 contributing, 8 life and four advisory council.

Victor Westphall

## Book Reviews

*The Cerro Colorado Site and Pithouse Architecture in the Southwestern United States Prior to A.D. 900.* By William R. Bullard Jr. Paper of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University. Vol. 44, No. 2, 1962. Pp. 205, 8 tables, 44 plates. \$6.50.

This volume is the second major publication from the Upper Gila Expedition of the Peabody Museum and includes three somewhat separate sections: (1) a report on the excavations of the Cerro Colorado site near Quemado in west central New Mexico, (2) a review and critique of Anasazi, Mogollón and Hohokam chronology prior to A.D. 900, and (3) a comparative survey of pithouse architecture in the Southwest for the same period. The details will be mainly of interest to specialists in Southwestern archeology, but historians will be interested in the bases for chronology and in the general picture of cultural development which emerges.

The Cerro Colorado village site was a relatively large community situated in the upper little Colorado drainage, a few miles west of the continental divide and just north of the divide between the upper Gila and Little Colorado drainages. This village of some 50 pithouses was occupied from some time in the sixth century to about A.D. 750, and was followed by a period (Pueblo I) of scattered small pueblos which gradually increased in size to around 20 rooms on the average during Pueblo III. After 1300, only a few large sites remained, and the area was later abandoned, the survivors probably moving north to the Zuñi region. There is now evidence from pollen studies that these variations are probably ecological adjustments to environmental changes in the character and amount of rainfall, as well as the result of increasing interaction between Anasazi and Mogollón communities in this transition area.

Dr. Bullard's review of Southwestern chronologies is



important, since a number of alternative interpretations have been offered. The Anasazi sequences, based on Tree-ring studies and pottery correlations, is accepted, but the Mogollón periods are questioned and the author proposes a "nuclear" and "peripheral" Mogollón area with somewhat different characteristics and development. The Hohokam, with at least four differing chronologies, is shown to be in need of future excavation to resolve the contradictions. His major conclusion with regard to chronology is that there is no clear evidence that any of the Hohokam or Mogollón cultures are demonstrably older than Basketmaker III. But this conclusion is achieved by doubting the radio carbon dates which take the place of dendrochronology in the Mogollón areas, and questioning the stratigraphy of Tularosa Cave.

The third section contains a detailed comparative study of pithouse structures prior to A. D. 900 with reference to settlement pattern, orientation, shape, size, and details of construction. Pithouses are assumed to be an ancient trait in both the Old and New Worlds, and therefore are presumed to be in the Southwest through diffusion from a common source. The variations found, however, suggest a number of independent developments in the Anasazi and Mogollón regions. Bullard concludes (p. 189): "By and large, the picture that emerges from the architectural study corresponds closely with that which can be obtained from ceramics, in regard to both chronology and the relationships between areas and their subdivisions. Discrepancies are surprisingly few. The most outstanding is the similarity between early Hohokam and early Mogollón ceramics and the dissimilarity of their architecture. Another, of less importance, is the architectural unity but ceramic diversity during Pueblo I within the Northern San Juan Region."

In the post war period there has been a reluctance on the part of archeologists concerned with the Anasazi region to recognize the parallel developments to the South. Dr. Bullard's "map of regions and areas" stops at the border, which

cuts off roughly half of the Mogollón area, and limits the Hohokam area to the Phoenix-Tucson region. The recent delineation of the "Desert Culture" as ancestral to much of the specialized developments in the Southwest, and the recognition that ecological factors may be responsible for certain of the similarities and differences, will put these tentative conclusions in broader perspective. The need for more excavation is apparent, and Emil Haury's plans for future work at Snaketown on the earlier sequences of Hohokam will be of crucial importance. But equally important, as Dr. Bullard notes, "is the need for continual reappraisals of older concepts in the light of new data." His view of the early Southwest through the medium of architecture has given us new insights and has presented new problems.

We await the next reappraisal and have suggested one or two of the factors which might be considered.

University of Chicago

Fred Eggan

*Jew and Mormon: Historic Group Relations and Religious Outlook.* By Dr. Rudolf Glanz. Published with the help of the Lucius N. Littauer Foundation. New York: Waldon Press, Inc. 1963. Pp. ix, 379.

Dr. Rudolf Glanz has been responsible for several studies that treat the relationship of the Jews with various segments of our American communities: His *Jew and Yankee* appeared in 1944; *Jews in Relation to the Cultural Milieu of the Germans in America up to the Eighteen Eighties*, in 1947; *The Jews in American Alaska, 1867-1880*, was published in 1953; *The "Bayer" and the "Pollack" in America*, in 1955; *The Jews of California from the Discovery of Gold Until 1880*, New York, 1960; and the *Jew in the Old American Folklore*, New York, 1961.

Earlier studies of the Jews in Utah and their relationship with the Mormons have been done by the Daughters of the Utah Pioneers and by Leon L. Watters. The place of the Jews, or the Children of Israel, in Mormon concepts is an

interesting one since Mormons doctrinally are either in actuality or by adoption themselves of Israel. The American Indians as descendants of Book of Mormon peoples are also held to be—not specifically of Jewish descent—but of the House of Israel.

The author gives attention to the various aspects of the peculiar relationships between Jew and Mormon. The following chapter headings are indicative of the variety of interests he deals with: "Indian-Israel in Mormonism," the "Mormon Bible," "Zion in America," the "Gentile, and the Jew as a Gentile," "Ephraim: Mixed Among the Nations," the Mormon concept of the "Restoration of the Jews," the "School of Prophets and Bible Language," "The Resident Jewish Merchant Class and the Rise of a Gentile Front, Religious Life and Social Contact with the Mormons," "Jews and Jewish Matters in the Mormon Press," and "The Jewish Press on Mormons and Mormonism." It is pointed out that by and large the Mormons and Jews got along famously together, but that there were some sources of conflict or embarrassment such as the idea held not only by Mormons but by many other early students of the American Indian that the Indians were descendants of the Jews, or of Israel.

Since its justification of the belief in polygamy was found in the Old Testament (which of course is the Jewish Bible) and since the Jews themselves were a monogamous people, Mormon belief in polygamy became a source of difficulty for Jews as they immigrated to America which called for continual explanation by them of their position in relation to this question.

One of the reasons the leaders of the Mormons had selected the Salt Lake Valley for a place of settlement was because they wished to find a place where their followers could develop away from the pressures they had found at Kirtland, in Missouri and at Nauvoo, Illinois. However, Salt Lake City became a stopping place on the route to the gold fields and, as the west developed, many enterprising merchants saw this Zion in the wilderness as a place of

economic opportunity. Soon every traveler who crossed America by the central route tended to spend a few days in Salt Lake City and its environs, and many of them wrote a book describing their travels in which a few pages or a chapter were devoted to Utah and the Mormons. Brigham Young soon found that the "Gentile" merchants were too much competition for his idea of an independent commonwealth. The cooperative movement among the Mormons was his answer to the problem. It became improper to trade with Gentile merchants. In this case the Jews tended to be classed with the Gentiles, although there was a difference, and most of the Jewish merchants weathered the storm and were able to stay on in Utah.

Dr. Glanz's quotations pertaining to the Jews from the Mormon press are most interesting, and it was surprising to me to learn the extent to which Mormons were mentioned in the Jewish press, not only in the eastern part of the United States, but in Europe as well. The author has done a thorough job of combing the sources for information and has in most cases competently analyzed the position of the Jew in Mormon thought during the various periods.

In his chapter treating Biblicism and Mormonism, it is suggested that there is little use of Biblical names in Utah. In order to make a fair analysis it would have been necessary for the author to extend his survey to the geographical area originally taken in by the suggested State of Deseret, and that he also consider the names of stakes and wards which are as basic a part of Mormon geography as names of towns. Actually, there is a Goshen Street in Salt Lake City and a Sharon Stake in the Provo area, and at least a dozen other Biblical names are found in the greater area of Mormon settlement included in the original State of Deseret. Also Mormon scriptures include the *Book of Mormon*, the *Doctrine and Covenants*, and the *Pearl of Great Price* as well as the *Bible*; and *Book of Mormon* names particularly are scattered geographically throughout Mormondom and are used liberally for given names in Mormon families.

Although reading this book will be a rewarding experience for both Jew and Mormon as well as others interested in Americana, the work would have been improved if the copy had been more closely checked for spelling errors prior to publication, if a complete bibliography in addition to the footnotes had been included, and if an index could have been provided to assist the serious reader in ferreting out details from the work. All in all, however, the author is to be complimented for the labor that has gone into this publication and for the wealth of detailed information it contains. This is a worthy addition to his previous works pertaining to the Jew in America.

Brigham Young University

S. Lyman Tylor

*A Guide to the Manuscript Collections of the Bancroft Library.* Edited by Dale L. Morgan and George P. Hammond. University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1963. Pp. vii, 379. Index. \$15.00 (Bancroft Library Publications, Bibliographical Series, vol. I. *Pacific and Western Manuscripts*—except California).

The library of H. H. Bancroft was purchased in 1905 by the University of California. The footnotes in the 39 volumes of Bancroft's *Works* were the only guide to the collection except that as additions were made to the library the memory of the oldest employee became increasingly important in finding a particular document. In order to remedy this unsatisfactory "catalogue" a comprehensive revision of the system was started in 1947. This publication is the first fruit of a planned three volume guide.

Volume I contains all the materials that relate to the West from Alaska to Arizona and Texas to Hawaii with the exception of California materials which will be published in a separate volume. The documents are grouped by states except that the last group is entitled the *West and Misc.* The documents are arranged according to the alphabet within each group.

A valuable feature of the Guide is the Index which provides cross references between the groups. For instance, the documents for New Mexico are listed on pages 81 to 96, but the Index provides 27 references to New Mexico items in other groups.

Despite the fifteen years involved in preparing this guide, the results more than justify the time devoted to its preparation. The book will be a boon to every scholar who uses the Bancroft Library because it supersedes the older system that had the earmarks of the old proverb, "hunting for a needle in a haystack." The Director and his associates can be justifiably proud of their accomplishment. I wonder, however, whether A. Peterson was discharged from the army at Fort Sumner in 1861 (p. 227).

F. D. R.

*The A. B. Gray Report and . . . reminiscences of Peter R. Brady. . . .* Edited by L. R. Bailey. Los Angeles 41: Westernlore Press, 1963. Pp. xix, 240. Illus., map. \$5.95.

The promoters of the Texas Western Railroad employed A. B. Gray, an experienced surveyor who was acquainted with the western country, to survey a route for a railroad along the thirty second parallel in 1854. This he did in his usual competent fashion; but in preparing a report for his employers, he left a reference book that is useful in more ways than one for specialists in the region from Texas to California. It is rich in the description of the country: the natural resources, geography, and settlements.

Gray's Report, a business-like document, is accompanied by the more humanistic memoirs of Brady that complement the Report very well, and also present a picture of the leader that could not be drawn from his own account. The whole is rendered more pleasing, if not more valuable as a source, by the numerous well-drawn illustrations of Charles Shuchard, an artist who accompanied the expedition.

Gray is not always correct in details, but those who use the Report for reference can be critical and others read it for

pleasure. A few of the editorial notes are inaccurate: Footnote 10 does not give the correct date for the founding of Fort Belknap. Cf. A. B. Bender in *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, 16:129 (April, 1941); the information in footnote 12 has no relation to the textual passage that it is supposed to clarify; the information in Note 28 is contradicted, and rightfully so, by Gray in the text (p. 43); Note 31 is wrong because Bartlett was writing about the old presidio of Fronteras in Sonora, not the site of Frontera north of El Paso; in Note 46 the word *vista* should read *visita*—a typographical error; in Note 57, *ajo* does mean “garlic” as Barnes writes, but it also means rouge and color which fit Gray’s statement.

The slips in annotating the report do not detract from its usefulness for students of the Southwest. It is volume 24 of the Great West and Indian Series. Since only 900 copies are for sale, it might become a collector’s item as the first printing of Gray’s Report in 1856. Brady’s Reminiscences first appeared serially in the *Arizona Citizen*, 1898.

F. D. R.

*Indian Art in America.* By Frederick J. Dockstader. Greenwich, Connecticut: New York Graphic Society, 1961. Pp. 224. Illustrations (part colored), map, bibliography. \$25.00.

From the early pre-Columbian era to the present day, art in many forms has been an integral and important part of American Indian life. Ranging from the strictly utilitarian to the purely aesthetic, its styles of expression are as varied as the many indigenous cultures which produced it. Environmental factors, strong regionalism, religious associations, tribal traditions, functionalism, outside influences, and the close relationship between form and available materials all had a definite bearing upon the art manifestations of the native population of America in pre-historic as well as in historic times. From the bone and ivory craft of the northern Eskimo through the quill and beadwork of the Great Plains

tribes to the masterly stoneworking of the Southeast, this art of the North American Indian forms a significant facet of our own cultural heritage, worthy to be ranked, for sheer beauty and strength, with the best from comparable periods anywhere else in the world.

The author has purposely limited his subject to the work of the Indian groups living north of Mexico, dividing their vast territory into nine major areas, each with its own distinctive cultural characteristics and artistic expressions. A scholarly introduction concerning the general background and nature of Indian art, prehistoric as well as modern, provides the reader with a thorough appreciation and understanding of the objects presented through the medium of superb color plates and a wealth of black and white illustrations, together with a short commentary concerning each article depicted. Many of these illustrations, here published for the first time, are of items from the fabulous collections of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York, of which Dr. Dockstader is the director. A three-page bibliography covering major culture areas and techniques, as well as general works on Indian art, adds greatly to the usefulness of the publication.

An outgrowth of the Carnegie Study of the Arts of the United States, this magnificent volume is one for which there has long been a great need. Textwise, it is a worthy successor to *Indian Arts in North America*, by George C. Vaillant (N. Y., Harper, 1939) and *Indian Art of the United States* (N. Y. Museum of Modern Art, 1941), by Frederic H. Douglas and Rene d'Harnoncourt, which did so much during past decades to stimulate interest in the native art of this country's first inhabitants. Pictorially, Frederick Dockstader's book far surpasses earlier works in the same field. *Indian Art in America* should be widely used as a source of reference by anthropologists, teachers, students, and laymen.



# HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NEW MEXICO

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OLD SANTA FÉ. Published quarterly 1913-1916. The file contains articles of historical interest and importance. The following issues are available at \$1.00 each; Vol. I, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4; Vol. II, Nos. 4, 6; Vol. III, No. 12.

### HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NEW MEXICO, PUBLICATIONS IN HISTORY

*New Mexico and the Great War*, ed. by L. B. Bloom, 174 pp., index. Vol. II, November 1927. \$1.50

*Antonio Barreiro's "Ojeada Sobre Nuevo Mexico,"* ed. by L. B. Bloom, 60 pp., illus. Vol. V, March 1928. \$5.00

*Albert Franklin Banta: Arizona Pioneer*, ed. by Frank D. Reeve, 143 pp., illus., index. Vol. XIV, September 1953. \$2.25

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### HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NEW MEXICO, PAPERS

*Kin and Clan*, by Adolph F. Bandelier, 8 pp. 1882. \$5.00

*The Stone Lions of Cochiti*, by L. Bradford Prince, 22 pp., illus. 1903. \$3.00

*The Franciscan Martyrs of 1680*, by Ysidro Sariñana y Cuenca, 28 pp., illus. 1906. \$3.00

*Journal of New Mexico Convention Delegates to Recommend a Plan of Civil Government*, September, 1849. 22 pp. 1907. \$1.00

*In Memory of L. Bradford Prince*, by F. W. Clancy, 15 pp. 1923. \$1.00

*Coronel Jose Francisco Chaves, 1833-1904*, by Paul Walter, F. W. Clancy & M. A. Otero, 17 pp., illus. 1927. (Spanish or English) \$1.00

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VOL. XXXIX

JULY, 1964

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CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
The Crumbling Adobes of Chamberino	
Marguerite Taylor Want . . . . .	169
William Carr Lane, Diary	
Wm. G. B. Carson, <i>Editor</i> . . . . .	181
The Language of the Saline Pueblos: Piro or Tiwa?	
Albert H. Schroeder . . . . .	235
Notes and Documents . . . . .	250
Historical Society of New Mexico . . . . .	251
Book Reviews . . . . .	253

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San Luis, Rey de Francia, Chamberino  
By Lillie Mae White

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## THE CRUMBLING ADOBES OF CHAMBERINO

*By* MARGUERITE TAYLOR WANT\*

Our valley is lush and green with many beautiful homes, productive farms, and busy communities on both sides of the Rio Grande. The history of this area is a fascinating story with many gay and carefree times of joy and excitement, romantic gala fiestas, times of fear and anxiety, and grave tragedies.

After the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo of 1848, the fertile Chamberino valley attracted a number of New Mexicans who preferred to maintain their old allegiance and emigrate to areas still under the jurisdiction of Mexico. The Mexican government encouraged this by establishing colonies of immigrants from New Mexico and granting lands to them. In 1851-1852, Ramón Ortiz, a priest at El Paso, was acting by appointment of the supreme authorities of Mexico as Commissioner General empowered to found such colonies in the State of Chihuahua.

The "civil colony of Refugio" was on the west bank of the Rio Grande, "about five or six leagues north of the town of

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\*Anthony, New Mexico. Because I have lived in the Chamberino community since I was a tiny child this area has been near and dear to me. Hence, the desire to collect material and to write of my community inspired me to write this paper.

Special acknowledgment is due to Mrs. P. H. Bailey, Mary Garcia, Simon Hernández, Alice Jackman Nelson, Estanislado Saucedo, Mrs. Marcos Saucedo, Hilario Saucedo and his daughters, Anita and Francisca Saucedo, and Warder Wallace. Special gratitude is shown to those who are now deceased: José Barrio, Chon Díaz, Tránsito García, Mrs. W. H. Haas, and to Mrs. Teresa E. Stevenson.

El Paso." More than fifty heads of families had already received possession of farmlands and house lots, when, on February 20, 1852, Ortiz proceeded to make the usual grant of *ejidos* (commons) to the new settlement, "this colony being already established and greatly increased and also the distribution of *suertes* of lands and residence lots among its settlers having been effected after the designation of localities for town houses [i.e. town hall], churches, etc., and the granting of eight *suertes* of land for corporation funds." According to Spanish colonial and later Mexican Law, the common lands were to be uncultivated areas lying on the outskirts of cities, towns, or villages.

I therefore designate to the aforesaid Colony of Refugio, one league and a quarter for its commons the measurement of which being that prescribed by the twenty third article of the State law of December twenty third one thousand eight hundred and fifty one for the benefit of settlements containing over one thousand souls, was then commenced and assigned from the exterior of the outer limits of the property or possessions already distributed observing the character and the quadrilateral configuration of the lands distributed in as much as it could not be made into a perfect square, it must be borne in mind that the arable land of the said Colony of Refugio has in length six thousand nine hundred varas from North to South and two thousand four hundred and seventy five varas from East to West and consequently, an area of seventeen millions eighty seven thousand five hundred square varas. The figure and limits of the tract being known and taking into consideration that towards the river side there is not sufficient public land to mark out the common on that side, the three thousand one hundred and twenty five varas that ought to have been measured on that side are added to a like number on the northern side, that is to say, measuring six thousand two hundred and fifty varas from the lands of Jose de la Luz Jaques, or more plainly from the point corresponding on a direct line of this land running from east to west, thence following the side of the river will make the six thousand two hundred and fifty varas—at which final point the proper landmarks will be raised—after which from the limits of the land of Jose Marques which is situated



at the edge of the hills towards the west there will be measured three thousand one hundred and twenty five varas, and as many more on the south side, from the limits of the land of Jose Maria Garcia where the said landmarks will also be raised. Lastly for woodland and common pasturage . . . I designate the entire Bosque and strips of land lying between the arable land and the river from the commencement and end of the arable land embracing its whole length. I also designate for public lawn and grounds the adjacent brows and slopes of the hills situated on the west in a longitudinal extension, following the course of the summit equal to the common pasture ground designated on the side of the river. The right of pasture and other concessions which I hereby stipulate in favor of this new settlement in the name of the Federal Government and of the State of Chihuahua is perpetual and imprescriptible founded upon the consent of the supreme authorities and on the letter of ancient and modern legislation. In view of all which from this day forward the aforesaid settlement of Refugio remains in the most ample possession of the tract to which it is entitled by law—under the restriction that it cannot alienate the same in any manner, to any church, monastery, ecclesiastical person community or into any other mortmain so called, as this is prohibited by law.

Less than two years later El Refugio passed to the jurisdiction of the United States of America and the refugees to Old Mexico found themselves New Mexicans again in Doña Ana County, New Mexico, under the terms of the Gadsden Purchase Treaty, December 30, 1853.<sup>1</sup>

Families had brought the most necessary household articles, the needed farming equipment and precious seeds in ox carts, on mule packs, and on burro's backs. They had found a wide and level area near the river to build their temporary homes. The land was cleared of bosque growth; small plots of garden were cultivated. Chili, frijoles, squash, pumpkins, sweet potatoes, and corn were planted. Fields of

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1. Information and quotations on El Refugio colony grant from University of New Mexico microfilm copies of papers in Docket of Private Land Claims (Surveyor General) "housed in the U.S. Bureau of Land Management, Santa Fe." See Albert James Diaz, *A Guide to the Microfilm of Papers relating to New Mexico Land Grants* (Albuquerque, 1960), pp. 3, 47. EBA.

wheat and patches of punche (a native tobacco) were planted the following season. Vineyards of mission grapes and peach, quince, and other fruit trees were set out.

An intricate irrigation system was established with a diversion dam across the Rio Grande near the present town of San Miguel, constructed of poles of cottonwood driven into the river bottom and a woven face of green willow and tamarisk limbs to back up the water. This diverted the water into a hand-constructed canal known as the "acequia madre". The long canal was patrolled by a canal "alcalde del agua" and maintained by all the farmers with shovels and crude scrapers. The surplus canal water emptied back into the river south of the town. The irrigation system created a constant repair job. The diversion dams had to be rebuilt nearly every summer, and often several times each season, because every flood that came along would either wash them out or partly wreck them. They had to be built higher and higher, because silt and sand washed down by the flood waters slowly raised the level of the riverbed. Until engineers worked out a better plan, early settlers kept on using the system upon which Indians and Spanish colonists had relied for hundreds of years.

Livestock was used as a source of power and food supply; oxen were used both in the fields and to turn the millstones of the "molinos". Longhorn cattle and goats were the source of milk. Sheep furnished skin mats to sleep on, warm wool for clothing, and mutton to eat. They were items for barter. The new American market for wool benefited the sheep raisers and later thousands of sheep were raised and marketed in the valley.

The settlers lived in a closely knit settlement for the purpose of safety and for convenience. Permanent adobe buildings were later constructed around the pre-planned town plaza located in the east area behind the present Chamberino store off New Mexico Highway 28. A small mission church at the north end was dedicated to San Luis Rey de Fran-

cia, a devout Catholic king of France who responded to the call of the Pope to defend the Holy Land during the Crusades. He was an admired saint of the Spanish explorers going to foreign lands. The Mexican settlers had great veneration for him, and held him as their model. The church was built by all able-bodied men and boys. Adobes, hard labor, and many hours of each day went into the San Luis church.

A Jesuit missionary rode from Paso del Norte on horseback, or went in a buggy to the town about once each month to administer the sacraments and celebrate Mass for the faithful. The old timers recalled with fond memories conversations with Father Pinto and Father Esteban. Father Lafon came later to the Chamberino and Berino missions and the small mission of Nombre de Dios, located north and east of the present Gadsden High School. Later, this village was completely washed away.

The good padres encouraged the mothers and young ladies to instruct the children in "doctrina cristiana", and from this instruction came the teaching of "las letras". Instruction was held in the homes of Ygnacio Orrantia and José Morales, in the open court yards, and in the plaza. José la Luz Pino was an early strict professor who was paid for his service. He was recalled by Tránsito Garcia and José Barrio as one who required the most of each student.

In 1870 the population of Chamberino was about 500. The children were expected to attend school. If money was a scarce item, the teacher was paid with grain, meat, chickens and eggs, vegetables, lodging, or firewood. Most any practical item was acceptable.

The corner fireplace did not always afford enough heat in the classroom, so the coals of burning mesquite root in the center of the hard packed dirt floor added to the children's comfort. The placid happy community knew the hardships of bitter cold and heavy snow in some winters; therefore classes were dismissed during the cold months.

There was no regular time for school terms and the session of each school in the territory depended upon available teachers, amount of school funds appropriated, and the meeting of the school commissioners. In the school room were children ranging in age from five to twenty years of age. During the harvesting and planting seasons classes were recessed.

The colony of Mesilla had grown in population and published weekly newspapers. In the *Mesilla Valley Independent* of 1877 to 1879 (taken from microfilm copies in New Mexico State University Library) there was an advertisement on the front page that showed Chamberino to be a busy thriving pueblo. It read:

YGNACIO ORRANTIA  
Comerciante de Efectos y  
ABARROTES  
en el plaza del  
CHAMBERINO

Ygnacio Orrantia was a prosperous merchant and a very influential person with the important office of Secretary of the Colonia de Chamberino.

A newcomer to the area saw prospects for competition with Ygnacio Orrantia in the general mercantile business. He purchased bricks from the brick kiln located on the river in the vicinity of the present town of Vinton, Texas, and constructed an imposing tall store building. Mr. Baggs, or Boggés, as the villagers referred to him, was a bachelor of means from Montana. He stocked his store with the latest sewing machines, farming implements, seeds, fancy calico and dress goods, shoes and boots, local wine and whiskey (which was sold by the cup chained to the barrel).

His large store house had ample space for the wheat he bought or traded for. There he stored sacks of ground flour from Harts Mill located in El Paso. When the storeroom was near empty the space was used for all night dances.

Mr. Baggs had acquired a large farm of several hundred acres with rich pasture lands. He built a large two story red brick home which was a show place of the valley. He operated a stock farm of race horses and maintained his own track. He sold horses from his farm and livery stable in El Paso. He owned greyhound dogs and sponsored dog races. On Sundays cock fights with his highly bred game cocks were wagered on.

Baggs store and race tracks soon became the trading spot for traders, travelers, farmers, and loafers.

Each spring as the snow melted in the Rockies, the rushing torrents of water came down the Rio Grande. On May 3rd of each year the crest of the flood waters was awaited with fear and anxiety. In 1884 and 1885, the river went on a rampage. Many of the adobe houses were surrounded by flood water. Some collapsed into mud heaps, and others were unsafe for occupancy. A few of the discouraged and frightened home owners built new homes on higher ground away from the village. Others repaired their damaged homes and built dykes around the town. Other discouraged settlers moved back to Chihuahua. The farsighted Ramon Barrio, Manuel Díaz, Francisco López, and Jacinto Perea built on hills on the west side of the Chamberino canal. The Barrio and Díaz homes are still occupied near the present Chamberino School.

In 1886, a more devastating flood inundated the entire valley from the foot hills of the east to those on the west. The railroad had been completed east of the river several years before, and the tracks were all washed out and covered with water, mud, and debris.

The men controlled the canal (mentioned earlier) to prevent breaks and to try to strengthen the weakened spots in the banks. Many farmers exchanged bitter words because those patrolling would not let them cut the banks to allow the water to spread to the western farmland and the pasture areas. The patrolling was futile because the banks gave way

in weakened spots. The boiling, rushing, whirling water had no mercy on lives or property.

Flood water covered the entire low area. Only the homes on high ground escaped the crumbling of adobes into the furious water. People fought desperately to save household furnishings, clothing, animals, the sacred vessels from the altar of the church, "santos" from family shrines, and any item that could be carried. Many of the people lost all their possessions. Some of the more fortunate had loads tied on hastily to burros' or horses' backs, or tied to makeshift rafts. A few citizens anchored items to trees to be salvaged later. The older children had rushed on ahead with the few animals they could herd toward the mesa. Many of the aged and small children, as well as able-bodied adults, lost their lives. The graves in the sandy area south of the village were covered with water and washed away. For years pieces of human skeletons were picked up over the valley and plowed up in the fields.

Makeshift log rafts and canoes were assembled and hurried into rescue action. The workers pulled chickens out of the tops of trees, pigs and goats were taken off hill tops, and floating furniture and containers were salvaged from the muddy waters for weeks after the raging torrent slowed to a leisurely moving stream in a new channel. The valley had the appearance of a wide lake with green cottonwood and willow tree tops standing above the mud and debris.

The devastation was terrible, and the stench of dead animals, stagnant water, molesting mosquitoes, swarming vultures, and slinking coyotes added to the misery of all.

The farm lands in many areas were too swamped to plant, so men had to clear new areas to plant their gardens. Wild game, remaining desert mesquite beans, tornillo beans, cacti, and fleshy plant roots were added to stretch the food supplies. Garambullo, tomateo, and quelites were gathered, and supplies not eaten were dried and stored.

Crudely built "jacals" of sticks and mud, roofed with

tules and twigs and more mud were erected on the sand hills. Drinking water had to be dipped out of the pools and lakes that had formed at the base of the mesa. Barrels and ollas, clay lined baskets and containers made of animal hides, were used to carry the water up the hill. They were often tied to poles and carried over shoulders, or loaded on crudely fashioned wooden-wheeled carts. The long lake formed at the base of the mesa was referred to as the "laguna" for years. As soon as possible, wells were dug for a more sanitary and convenient water supply by cooperative groups of residents.

These people knew hunger and suffering, but providence was on their side—the weather was kind and warm to them. They had their lives to be thankful for; so they gathered together to say the rosary, and ask the grace of God. They needed a central place to house the sacred vessels and erect a temporary altar. The home of Jacinto Perea, one of the few homes spared by the flood, was given the honor. Tránsito Garcia and José Barrio were young men at the time, and they related these events to me. Saved from the flood were the "santo", an old, hand-carved figure that had been brought with the first settlers, and a wooden crucifix crowned with real thorns. They were dear to all of the Chamberino citizens. Soon Jacinto Perea built a small room at the side of his home and Father Lafon blessed it, and dedicated it as a temporary chapel. Father Lafon took lodging and meals in the hospitable home of Mr. Perea.

These people looked forward to better homes, and in their spare time adobes were made near the "laguna". One man helped the next, and soon the hurriedly constructed village changed appearance. Many one and two-roomed warm, comfortable, adobe houses lined the one street known as the Camino Real, and overlooked the once fruitful valley.

Since a larger and more centrally located church was needed, the citizens picked a high spot on the hill west of the Camino Real. Adobes twenty-four inches wide were

made, and left in the hot sun to dry. They were later stacked into rows to be hauled up the hill on crudely fashioned wheelbarrows to be laid into the sturdy walls of the new church. The vigas were cut down in the valley, and only the straightest and tallest cottonwood trees were to be used for these rafters. Smaller branches and sticks were used to hold the mud which formed the roof. This was a hard, gruelling job that had to be done when the men could spare the work and time. It took eight years of hard labor to complete the construction. Today it stands proudly on the hill like a dedicated sentinel overlooking the valley farms.

Esteven Sever, an Austrian, gave the bell. Inscribed on the bell was the following—

HY STUCKSTEDE B. F. CO.

ST. LOUIE MO. 1901

CHRISTO REDEMPTORIS—

SEVER POPULUSQUE CHAMBERINUS A E S

ITUD SACRUM DEDICANT AS MCM I

The church had no belfry, so the bell was hung on forked cottonwood poles outside. An iron rod was used to strike the bell calling the faithful to worship. It tolled mournfully to announce a death. It also rang to alarm the people of danger, or to call them to meetings.

Frank Oliver gave the big statue of San Luis which was placed high over the main altar. The precious old statue of San Luis was given a prominent spot to the right of the altar, but it always took a special place in processions. Today it still holds this special honor.

Frank Oliver also built the large square "molino" on the reconstructed Chamberino ditch with the water wheel to turn the mill stones. Before the mill was built, all grain had to be hauled by wagons to Harts Mill in El Paso to be ground.

New people were coming into the valley to farm, and to



make their homes. Dr. Cyrus Bailey moved his family into the Chamberino area. Almost all the people were suffering from chills and fever so the old doctor was kept very busy. Dr. Bailey set out a vast vineyard, and he imported fruit trees and many ornamental shrubs. He and Mr. Baggs rivaled one another as horticulturalists. They were proud of the many kinds and varieties of fruit and nuts they produced. A Persian mulberry is one of the prized old trees still bearing fruit on the old Baggs home site. The stately black walnut trees were chopped up for firewood. The trees bearing delicious peaches, pears, figs and other fruits have all died out.

At the turn of the century many Dutch farmers, refugees of the Boer War in South Africa, entered the valley. They were ambitious and industrious workers, and the local community made many progressive changes in general living and in education.

The townspeople of Chamberino realized their need for a solid community. A group of men were organized as the "commisionarios" on June 4, 1906. Francisco López was the elected president; Vicente López, Jr., secretary; and board members were Jacinto Perea and Luis Candelario.

A new plot of land was designated for the first public school site. Funds obtained from the territorial government and labor of the local citizens, with José Alvillar as architect, made the one-room school a reality. A formal opening was held in April of 1908, with a "Gran Baile". Music was furnished by Medina's string band for an all-night celebration.

Wedding dances, coming-out parties, annual fiestas, and political rallies were held in the school, which was the finest public meeting place in Chamberino.

Time showed the school to be much too small and not centrally located for the valley farm children. The people on the hill wanted the new school to be built on the hill, while the valley residents wanted a more centrally located build-

ing. After many heated arguments and numerous circulated petitions, a yellow brick school building with three rooms, two wash rooms, and a long hallway from the front door to the back door was constructed in 1913. It was located down in the valley. Miss Chloe Hampson (Mrs. S. A. Donaldson) and Miss Phildelia Sears opened school late in September for children attending the first eight grades. The little children attended school in the old school house with Miss Abbie Kilgore as their kind and devoted teacher.

After Elephant Butte Dam was completed, and irrigation made cotton farming profitable, many people moved into the valley. The cotton crop presented new labor problems. Many negro laborers were brought in to harvest the crops. Laborers from Mexico found steady work and better living conditions. The valley population then began to grow rapidly.

The Mesilla Valley has become a most beautiful productive area. This has been possible through hard work, foresight, heartache, and success and failure that always accompany progress and productivity. Large scale farms have absorbed the small farmplots. Many of the younger people moved down into the valley, and others moved away to find gainful employment. Many of the old homes on the hill were deserted; windows were soon broken, roofs leaked and collapsed, and walls showed the ravages of time and weather. Today as one passes through the old community he sees "the crumbling adobes of Chamberino".

## WILLIAM CARR LANE, DIARY

*Edited by* WM. G. B. CARSON

### *Biography of Lane*

“When I look back, the wonder with me is, not that I am so shattered but that I am still alive.”<sup>1</sup>

So, on January 27, 1852, wrote Dr. William Carr Lane of St. Louis to his daughter, Anne. Not quite two months before, he had celebrated his sixty-second birthday, and in his own opinion—and, indeed, by the standards of the day—he was an old man. The following summer from Washington, D.C. he wrote his wife, “I am certainly old & my sensibilities are certainly on the wane.”

That was on July 3. Yet a few days later, when it was offered him by President Fillmore, he accepted the appointment of Territorial Governor of New Mexico with residence in Santa Fe, a post he would have to reach by an arduous journey of a thousand miles over plain and mountain, and where he would have to settle down in a frontier community, and administer the affairs of a territory where hostility to the conquering “Gringos” was still seething beneath the surface and where marauding Indians were committing daily depredations on the almost defenseless inhabitants.

Why under the circumstances did Fillmore select him? The answer to that question is not very hard to arrive at. A week or so before, James S. Calhoun, the first Governor, had died while crossing the plains on his way back to the States, and the news must have reached the capital about July 10. Circumstances made it imperative that someone be found to replace him at once. That might not be easy.

The post was just about as undesirable as one could be.

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1. Unless otherwise specified, all the letters of Wm. Carr Lane quoted in this article are in the Archives of the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

So far as Washington was concerned, New Mexico might just as well have been on another planet, and no one there took the slightest interest in its voteless inhabitants, white or red. On the other hand, many Congressmen and businessmen took a very intense interest in a certain portion of its landscape, and consequently were making it a bone of contention between the United States and the republic to the south.

By what the President may well have been persuaded was a fortunate accident, there happened to be in the capital at this opportune moment a man who, he was assured by friends who had known him for years, was by virtue of his character and his experience, peculiarly fitted to fill the position honorably and capably. So, there being no opposition, Fillmore submitted his appointment to the Senate on July 14, and it was unanimously ratified. The oath of office was administered by Justice John Catron of the Supreme Court, and, no doubt to his great surprise, the elderly and "shattered" physician found himself the second American Governor of New Mexico.

Why did he accept? Travelling hither and yon about the country in an effort to get away from his grief over the loss of his only son, he had come to Washington just before the news of Calhoun's death was received. He was a very impulsive man, and now he was given little time to weigh the matter, *pro* and *con*. He saw a chance to get away from "agonizing associations" in St. Louis and find forgetfulness in public affairs. Even so, it is extremely unlikely that he would have accepted had he been able to consult his predecessor, for the indifference and negligence with which he had been treated had broken Calhoun's health and been responsible for his premature death. It is ironic that, although Lane was at least ten years older, he came out of New Mexico a year later in more robust health than he had entered it.

Having sent "telegraphic dispatches" to his wife in St. Louis to apprise her of the glad tidings, Lane set out without

delay on his journey home. Unfortunately, his telegrams failed to reach their destination and when he arrived in St. Louis, his family was dumbfounded and outraged by the news. He said later that had they had time to prepare, his wife and his unmarried daughter would have accompanied him. But, if they had done so, it would have been in anything but a jubilant state of mind and only to look after him. As it was, he left St. Louis on July 31 on board the steamboat *St. Ange* for Independence attended only by his colored servant, Frank Smith. The last words of his wife were a despairing cry, "I shall never see you again!"

From Independence he departed on the Santa Fe Mail Stage, but at Fort Atkinson transferred to what was then called an "ambulance" under the escort of a company of Dragoons commanded by Major James Henry Carleton. Part way between the Cimarrón Crossing of the Arkansas and Fort Union, he suffered an attack of what he called "renal calculus" so severe that both he and Carleton thought he might die on the spot, and Lane himself rather hoped he would. But he did not, and finally on September 9 he reached Santa Fe and took up his official residence in *El Palacio*.

When they recommended his appointment to Fillmore, John F. Darby and Edward Bates had many solid reasons to advance. Darby, the Whig Representative from Missouri, and Edward Bates, later Attorney-General in Lincoln's Cabinet, had known him for years, and were familiar with the circumstance of his career which in their opinion equipped him for such a difficult position.

Wm. Carr Lane—he always abbreviated his first name—was born on December 2, 1789, on a farm in Fayette County, Pennsylvania, the second son of Presley Carr and Sarah Stephenson Lane, who after their marriage had migrated from their native Virginia to Western Pennsylvania. Presley Carr had entered politics, and served in the state legislature, being speaker of the House, 1807-1815. Later he moved his large family to Shelbyville, Kentucky, where he died in 1819.

It was from him that his son inherited his zeal for public service.

Wm. Carr began his education in country schools and continued it briefly at Jefferson College in Chambersburg. For a time in 1809 he worked in the office of his elder brother Richard, who was Protho-notary of Fayette County. There he picked up some elementary knowledge of legal procedure which was to serve him in good stead in later years, but, if he had thought he had any affinity for the law, exposure changed his mind, and he spent the next year as a student at Dickinson College. Soon his interest began to veer toward "the physic," and in 1811 he began the study of medicine under Dr. John Collins of Louisville. Then Tecumseh and his brother, "The Prophet," went on the warpath, and in 1813, armed with such medical lore as he had picked up, he joined Colonel Russell's brigade of U.S. Infantry to fight the Indians. He saw no Indians, but he was so successful in combatting an epidemic of "bilious fever" which attacked the troops that President Monroe appointed him surgeon's mate at Fort Harrison.

Resolved now to pursue his profession, he enrolled in the medical department of the University of Pennsylvania for the academic year 1815-16. He did not, however, wait to take his degree. This failure he later deplored. In so doing he acted on the unwise advice of his father, "the best of men", but in this case a mistaken one, "whose word was law to me." Instead, he joined Morgan's rifle brigade in Vincennes, but very shortly was transferred to Fort Bellefontaine, an army post on the bluffs overlooking the Missouri River a few miles above its confluence with the Mississippi.

While in Vincennes he had seen much of the family of Nathaniel Ewing, who had been a neighbor and political colleague of his father before moving from Pennsylvania to Indiana, where he had acquired a farm a few miles from Vincennes and was rearing his large family. With the eldest daughter, Mary, the young doctor fell in love. It must have

been a case of opposites attracting opposites, for, if ever there was an ill-assorted pair, it was these two. He was large of frame with reddish brown hair, an ebullient extrovert, warm-hearted and high-tempered, who loved to mingle with people and to be busy in public affairs. She suffered painfully from shyness and from what today would be known as an "inferiority complex," and shrank from contact with all but members of her family and a few friends. The deep love she undoubtedly bore her husband and children, she was incapable of showing and, especially after the deaths of several infant children, she gave herself over to melancholy and irritability. She never made her home a happy place, and so stimulated her husband's passion for wandering. After the death of his fifteen year old son, Lane found it almost impossible to stay in St. Louis.

Shortly after his marriage the bridegroom received, after an examination before the State Medical Board, a "diploma for the practice of medicine and surgery" in the state of Indiana. Then the pair took off for Fort Bellefontaine. But Mary did not like Army life, and pestered him until he resigned and in 1819 settled down to the practice of medicine in St. Louis where she was not happy either. St. Louis, however, was small, and there were too many doctors for the population. He was too restless to sit around waiting for people to get sick or ladies to have babies. Fortunately for his peace of mind, Governor McNair appointed him his aide-de-camp, and then quartermaster general of Missouri.

In 1823 St. Louis was incorporated as a city, and Lane was chosen the first Mayor. The term ran for one year only, but he was elected for five more successive terms. In 1838 he was chosen to complete the unfinished term of his friend John F. Darby, and then re-elected for two more. Darby says in his *Personal Recollections*,<sup>2</sup> that "to him more than any other individual is due the credit for planning and cementing the foundations of the present great city of St. Louis. He

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2. p. 349.

was a man of great foresight, comprehensive mind and unerring judgment."

But even the duties of the Mayor's office, though described by Darby as "most arduous," added to his rather scanty responsibilities as a doctor, were not enough to occupy his busy mind. So in 1826 he decided to run for the state legislature which met in the new capital then known as "Jefferson." He was a Jacksonian Democrat and, according to Darby, could have been elected to the United States Senate over Thomas H. Benton had he not declined the honor. A year later, however, he underwent a change of heart, and decided to run for the state's one seat in the House of Representatives, but he withdrew in favor of Spencer Pettis, who was elected over Edward Bates, the Whig candidate. Shortly after that, greatly displeased by the actions of President Jackson, he joined the Whig Party, with which he was identified for the rest of his life. In 1830 he returned to the legislature and served two more terms. While there he acted as chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means and as a member of the Committee on the Santa Fe Trail.

When he returned to St. Louis, he settled down to devote himself entirely to the practice of his profession and the rearing of those of his children who had survived infancy. In 1832 he was re-elected for his final term in the legislature, and was also appointed by General Atkinson to the post of surgeon for the troops under his command in the Black Hawk War.

His final terms as Mayor (1838-40) concluded his public service until his tour of duty in New Mexico. In 1841 he was appointed to the chair of Professor of Obstetrics and the Diseases of Women and Children at Kemper College in St. Louis, but became dissatisfied and resigned in 1844. Then in 1846 came the death of his only son, Victor Carr, and the complete shattering of his happiness. He lost interest in his profession, and spent as much time as he could wandering about the country. The New Mexico interlude brought him



relief by exacting absorption in important duties. He even toyed with the idea of remaining in Santa Fe, provided he could have some members of his family to keep him from being lonely. But these dreams were of short duration, and with the election to the Presidency of the Democrat, Pierce, he resigned to forestall his replacement.

No sooner had he taken his seat in the Governor's chair than Lane found himself in trouble, serious trouble he could not have foreseen when he accepted the President's appointment in Washington two months before. This stemmed from the actions of Colonel E. V. Sumner, the military commander of the department. The latter, obviously resentful of the presence of a Civil Government, probably thinking that the authority should have been invested in him, proceeded to do in Lane's case, as he had done in Calhoun's, everything in his power to embarrass and harass him and to interfere with the exercise of his authority, even taking with him, when he left for his new post in Albuquerque, the American flag which had been flying over the Palace ever since the conquest.

"Gov. Lane confronted all these difficulties with his characteristic energy and administrative ability; he gained the goodwill and respect of the people, and the support of the influential citizens and succeeded in establishing the civil government on a firm and lasting footing."<sup>3</sup>

On October 1 the new Governor assumed an additional responsibility, the Superintendency of Indian Affairs. It did not take him long to discover that he had in his lap the problem that had been tormenting the white officials, whether Spanish, Mexican, or American, since the days of the Conquistadores, and was to continue to do so long after he was in his grave. There were two schools of thought about solving this problem. Extremists, deeming it absolutely hopeless, were in favor of cutting the Gordian knot by exterminating all the Indians. But to men who were really familiar with

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3. *National Cyclopedia of American Biography*, Vol. 5, p. 98.

the aborigines and to humanitarians this simple solution was abhorrent. It was their conviction that the way to guarantee so far as was possible the good behavior of the redmen was to placate them by gifts, sometimes including food, and teach them to support themselves by the cultivation of the soil and the raising of stock. After all, the Indians did have their side. The game upon which they had been depending for their subsistence had been almost exterminated, and they were forced to resort to plunder if they were to live; unfortunately, in all too many cases plunder led to murder. Incidentally, this method involved much less expense than maintaining a very considerable portion of the United States Army in the Territory in order to annihilate some thousands of people who had only to retreat to their almost inaccessible mountain fastnesses to be safe until they were ready to make their next sortie.

Lane, firmly believing in the second procedure, applied it in his dealings with the Navahos and the Jicarilla Apaches, whose domain was the northern part of the Territory. He was happy in the belief that, by and large, his endeavors had met with success.

The last five months of his administration were much more hectic than the first six. He was beset by frustrations and perplexities on every hand. In the first place, he no longer had the support of a friendly administration in Washington, but had to deal with members of the opposition party, who, politics being what they are, are not likely to have wanted to make things easy for him or to have his actions appear in a particularly favorable light. (In all fairness, it should be said that in none of his extant letters does Lane imply such motives on the part of his superiors.)

Aside from the Indians, who were an ever-present concern, the Governor's principal preoccupation was with the problem of the so-called "Disputed District." The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which had concluded the war with Mexi-

co, had not resolved all the difficulties between the two countries, notably those arising from the determination of a boundary which would be acceptable to both parties. A commission composed of men from each side was appointed, the leader of the American members being John Russell Bartlett. But the report submitted by the Commission met with bitter opposition from those Americans who envisaged the construction of a railroad to the Pacific through the southwestern corner of New Mexico or what at least had been historically considered a part of the Territory. This area had been claimed by the Mexican state of Chihuahua in 1851, "without producing any authority for this act from the Republic of Mexico and without having obtained the consent of the United States or the Territory of New Mexico . . ."<sup>4</sup> Bartlett agreed to the claims of Chihuahua and ran his line along 32° 22" Latitude so far to the north that the route proposed for the railroad was given to Mexico. With this railway project Lane was in sympathy, but his major concerns seem to have been to preserve the historical limits of the Territory and to protect the inhabitants from the Indians.

Ever since his assumption of the Governorship, Lane had been urged by Richard Weightman, the Territory's voteless Delegate to Congress, to seize the district by force of arms.<sup>5</sup> There was also strong sentiment among the citizens of Santa Fe against yielding to Mexico a part of the Territory which had been traditionally embraced within its own borders. But Lane refused to take drastic action until he had made an on-the-spot investigation for himself, especially as the Bartlett Report had not been repudiated by the United States Gov-

4. Proclamation of Governor Wm. Carr Lane claiming jurisdiction provisionally over the "Disputed District." Ralph E. Twitchell, ed., *Historical Sketch of Governor Wm. Carr Lane*. Historical Society of New Mexico, Publication No. 4, November 1, 1917.

5. Letter from Gov. Lane to Col. E. V. Sumner, Doña Ana, March 20, 1853. Microfilm, Records of the United States Army Commands, Record Group No. 98. Department of New Mexico, Letters sent: selected pages from volume eight, correspondence with Wm. Carr Lane, 1852-53, Dept. of New Mexico, Letters received: file N14-20, 1852 and 1853. The National Archives.

ernment. But, on the other hand, he was seriously concerned by reports that the Apaches were on the rampage in the area, and that no attempt to control them was being made by Mexican troops.

The "Disputed District" known as the "Mesilla Valley," despite the fact that actually there is no Mesilla River, is (in Lane's words) a "portion of the Territory on the west side of the Rio Grande del Norte, thirty-four miles wide by 170 miles long" immediately to the north of the old boundary. (In 1865, the river changed its course and cut a new channel west of the town of Mesilla itself.)

There is no space here to review all the complexities of the situation, which have been discussed by many historians. Mexican citizens, harassed and robbed by an incursion of Texans, had taken refuge on the west side of the river, only to find themselves even worse off, as they were plundered and even murdered by the Apaches who had their strongholds in the nearby mountains. The Mexican government, preoccupied with war and internal dissension, having failed to give them protection, they had fled back to the east side of the river, and even there they were none too safe.

About this time Lane saw a possible solution for the Apache problem in a letter which he received from Major Enoch Steen, post commander at Fort Webster on the Rio Mimbres, near the northern edge of the "Disputed District." Having found what he considered a suitable site, on the east bank of the Rio Gila, Steen proposed that an attempt be made to establish there a farm and to induce the savages to settle down and learn how to support themselves by growing grain and vegetables, and breeding livestock, instead of plundering the white settlements and haciendas. The only catch was that all these Indians would have to be fed by the government until their first crops matured. Lane thought the suggestion called for examination, and he wrote Steen enthusiastically, promising to make a joint inspection of the

site with him, and to confer with such influential chiefs as could be persuaded to come and talk the matter over.<sup>6</sup>

Sometime after the first of the year he made up his mind that the time had come for him to make his tour of inspection and determine just what action he ought to take in the matter. On February 15, he wrote his wife: "Be not surprised, if I should take possession of the disputed Territory, which I dare say I will find to be without adequate protection, against internal & external violence. Do not fear, that your Husband will go a Fillibustering, in his old days; but be assured, that if duty calls upon me to occupy & protect this country, provisionally, until the line shall be definitively established I will do it."

Having waited for the mail from Independence, from which apparently he learned (if he had not learned before) that the report of the Bartlett Commission had been rejected by the President on December 6, he set out from Santa Fe with a very impressive cavalcade, "For the southern part of the territory" on February 28. On March 7 he reached Fort Conrad, on the west bank of the river, and there remained, hospitably entertained by the commanding officer, Major Marshall S. Howe, until the 11th when he resumed his journey under "an escort of thirty Dragoons."

Reaching the town of Doña Ana two days later, he finally decided to issue a proclamation provisionally assuming jurisdiction on his own responsibility of the "Disputed District" until the question of boundary "shall be determined by the United States and the Mexican Republic." (Gov. Lane's Proclamation, section 7.) Little did he foresee the storm this action would provoke. On March 15 he reached El Paso, Texas, and there remained four days as the guest of Hugh Stevenson, a wealthy mineowner. He probably wished to learn all he could about the tumultuous conditions in Mexico

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6. Gov. Lane to Steen, Santa Fe, Feb. 11, 1853. Microcopy T-21. Records of the New Mexico Superintendent of Indian Affairs, 1849-80. Roll 25. Press Copies of Letters sent April 4, 1852-January 8, 1856. The National Archives.

and to discuss Bartlett's yielding to the claims of the Mexican members of the Commission.

On the 19th, turning his face northward again, he returned to Fort Fillmore through which he had passed on his way down. There he was outraged on receiving a letter from Sumner in which the latter categorically refused to lend him any support for his enterprise. On March 20 he gave vent to his feelings in an angry letter to Sumner . . .

"Ft. Fillmore is some 5 miles distant from Mesilla,—which is the largest town in the disputed Ter., and which contains upwards of 2000 inhabitants; and had Col. Miles ordered a single company out of his Cantonment of 350 men, (who are not employed otherwise than upon ordinary camp and genl duties),—to have marched into Mesilla, with the U.S. Flag, and the Proclamation, and it is believed, that not the smallest resistance would have been made, to the authority of the Ter. of N. Mex. But, as it was soon known, that the Regular Troops would not support the civil authorities in the movement,—Mexn. troops were soon concentrated in the disputed Territory, and resistance organized against the authority of N. Mexico. Under this state of circumstances, although a sufficient number of citizens offered their services, to establish and maintain the authority of N. Mex. Ter.,—as Blood might be shed, in the enterprise,—I judged it to be most advisable, not to send the Proclamation there, and transmit a copy (under the Consul at El Paso) to the Gov. of Chihuahua,—and to report the facts of the case to Washington."<sup>7</sup>

Under the circumstances there was nothing for him to do but take the actions outlined at the close of his letter. However unwillingly, he resigned himself to this what seemed to him pusillanimous course. In the light of future events, it is a good thing that he did so.

Having got this letter out of his system, he pushed on to Doña Ana which he reached on the 21st. After waiting nine days for some Mescalero Apaches whom he had summoned for conference, he gave up in disgust and started for Fort Webster to keep his appointment with Major Steen and the

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7. Cf. footnote five.

deputation of Gila and Mimbres Apaches the latter had gathered together to meet him and discuss the projected plan to bring them into more peaceful ways. Determined to avoid a collision with the Mexicans, he followed the Rio Grande upstream as far as San Diego and there crossed the river.<sup>8</sup> After camping for the night at the deserted town of Santa Barbara, he and his party picked up the road from Fort Conrad and continued on to Fort Webster. The road must have been a fairly good one because he travelled in a carriage and there were wagons for the baggage. "On my journey, I sometimes ride, in the carriage, & sometimes on Horseback & sometimes I walk, for recreation. A tramp of a league, does not fatigue me, and sometimes I walk 2 leagues, with little inconvenience."<sup>9</sup>

He evidently followed the route of a road later constructed from Fort Thorne to the Rio Gila.<sup>10</sup> Arriving at Fort Webster on April 2, he was welcomed by Steen with whom he quartered. He was, however, surprised and not too pleased to find a situation he had not anticipated. "And I ascertained that all the Tillable land in the vicinity of the fort,—which was not needed, for cultivation, by the Troops,—had been assigned by the commander of the fort to Mr. Francois Fletcher, the Interpreter of Agent Wingfield; and that Mr. Fletcher, and his Mexican peons, had cleared much of this land, ready for the plow; and had nearby completed a long acequia, to irrigate their crops,—besides having erected some cabins, for their own use.

"In this embarrassing state of things, I made the arrangements, which are detailed, in an article of agreement,—a copy of which is herewith submitted A."<sup>11</sup> According to this agreement, Fletcher was to clear the ground and then

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8. Report of Gov. Wm. Carr Lane, Santa Fe, May 21, 1853. Microcopy No. 234, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-81. Roll 546. New Mexico Superintendency 1849-1880. The National Archives.

9. Gov. Lane to Mrs. Lane, Fort Webster, April 5, 1853.

10. Letter from A. P. Muntz, archivist in charge, Cartographic Branch, Technical Records Division, The National Archives, Feb. 14, 1961.

11. Report of Gov. Wm. Carr Lane, Santa Fe, May 21, 1853. *op. cit.*

teach the Indians how to till it so that "each Band may enjoy the fruits of its own industry."<sup>12</sup> (According to a letter from J. M. Smith, a later agent at the Fort, to Governor David Meriwether, Lane's successor, Fletcher did not live up to his agreement, but served his own interests and neglected those of the Indians.)<sup>13</sup>

The next two days were devoted to conferences with the important chiefs who had come in response to the Major's call. He then drew up and they signed a "Treaty or Compact . . . by wh. they agreed to become stationary, to cease to live by plunder &c."<sup>14</sup>

On April 9, escorted by Steen and sixteen Dragoons, he set out to inspect the site on the Gila which Steen believed suitable for a farming reservation. They were accompanied as guides by the chief Ponce and two of his men. As they were just on the edge of the Disputed Territory—as a matter of fact, Lane was not at all sure that they had not crossed into it<sup>15</sup>—Ponce was afraid of attacks by Mexican forces or by "lawless Indians." Mr. Albert Schroeder of the National Park Services believes that by the latter Ponce meant the dreaded chief, Mangas Coloradas, who had a settlement on the banks of the Gila. He was, therefore, constantly on his guard and very careful to avoid coming too close to Mangus' camp, and led the party down to the river some miles further upstream.<sup>16</sup>

"My way was over Mexican Roads sometimes good & sometimes bad and sometimes along Indn. trails, and sometimes over Hill and dale, without any road or path, upon a given course . . . sometimes up and off, as early as, 2 o clck, A.M., and sometimes continuing the day's march, until 10 o clck. P.M.—so as to reach water, &, if possible, grass also ;

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12. Agreement, May 21, 1853, Microcopy No. T-21. Roll 25. *op. cit.*

13. Fort Webster, September 5, 1853, Microcopy No. 234, *op. cit.*

14. Gov. Lane to George Manypenny, Comm. of Indian Affairs, May 28, 1853. Microcopy No. 234, *Ibid.*

15. Gov. Lane to Mrs. Lane, Santa Fe, June 8.

16. Santa Fe, October 23, 1862.



& will you believe it, I found pleasure in all this."<sup>17</sup> In fact, the "shattered old man" was having the time of his life. With what Steen had to show him he was more than delighted and was ready to go full steam ahead.

Returning to the Fort, he bade farewell to his new Indian friends and started back to Santa Fe, which he reached on the evening of April 27. A short distance out of town he was met by a "Cavalcade of citizens," who were obviously bent on making a hero of him because of his Mesilla adventure.

It was not long, however, before he discovered that not everyone looked on this adventure with the same favor as these partisans, and, no doubt to his great surprise, he found himself very much in the public eye as the probable instigator of renewed hostilities with Mexico. He had dispatched a full account of the affair to President Pierce, and the latter promptly disavowed his actions. It has been said that he was recalled because of Presidential disapproval, but this does not seem likely. As early as December 31 he had written Senator Henry S. Geyer that his resignation was in the hands of his son-in-law, Wm. Glasgow, Jr., in St. Louis, and that unless the President should "Expressly request, that I remain here, . . . he will immediately send in my resignation."<sup>18</sup> In spite of a "Memorial" passed by a large meeting in Santa Fe requesting the President to retain him, Pierce obviously did not "expressly request" that he remain at his post, but appointed a man of his own party, David Meriwether. This action may have been motivated by the Mesilla fiasco, but it is probable that, Mesilla or no Mesilla, the President would have acted in the same way. Furthermore, had this not been the case, it is extremely unlikely that Lane would have gone to the White House and paid his respects to Pierce when he was in Washington the next winter.

In the following July, Pierce, having appointed James Gadsden to replace Alfred Conkling as minister to Mexico,

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17. Gov. Lane to Anne Lane, Santa Fe, April 30.

18. Gov. Lane to John F. Darby, Santa Fe, December 31, 1852.

instructed him to negotiate a treaty whereby the United States would acquire the "Disputed District" and more territory besides for the sum of \$15,000,000. This treaty was signed in December of the same year. On February 19 Lane, then in Washington, wrote his son-in-law: "The Gadsden Treaty, is before the Senate, with some prospect of being confirmed,—notwithstanding the high price we pay for what we get. Nothing has been done, with the Pacific R.R.; but something will be done. Texas, however, will make her road first. The Gadsden Treaty, is part and parcel of this road enterprize." After a great deal of wrangling the Treaty was finally ratified, but the sum paid was lowered to \$10,000,000.

Some weeks later Lane's feelings were further exacerbated by receiving a letter from George Manypenny, the new Commissioner of Indian Affairs, expressing strong disapproval of the Fort Webster agricultural project and ordering him to "cease and desist."<sup>19</sup> This was all the worse because about the same time he was also getting enthusiastic letters from Steen and Wingfield about the success of the operation, and he had been greatly elated. Even the terrible Mangas, the scourge of the area, had come peacefully in and affixed his mark to a supplementary compact. The following August, Manypenny wrote Meriwether, after he had assumed the Governorship, that he might not have vetoed the scheme had Lane given him the detailed explanation which he did in his reply to his letter calling a halt to the enterprise.<sup>20</sup> Can Manypenny have been having second thoughts since learning that with the collapse of the farm-experiment, the enraged Apaches had become worse than ever?

David Meriwether arrived in Santa Fe on August 8 and was inaugurated the same day. Whether or not he and Lane ever came face to face is not clear, though it would seem to

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19. April 9, 1853. Microcopy No. T-21, Records of the New Mexico Superintendency of Indian Affairs, 1849-1880, Roll 1 (1849-60), The National Archives.

20. August 8, 1853. Microcopy No. T-21, Roll 1, *Ibid.*

be impossible that they did not. Neither one refers to a meeting. Apparently, their dealings with each other, by no means amicable, were carried on through their secretaries. Their attitudes toward each other were so unfriendly that they squabbled over what seem today extremely trivial matters. In his correspondence with Manypenny the new Governor does seem to have been attempting to cast as many reflections as possible upon his predecessor. From Washington on the 19th of the following February, Lane wrote Glasgow: "Old Merriwether, has been writing, secretly and openly, gross Libels against an ex-Indn. Agent [almost certainly Wingfield,] and indirectly attempting to implicate me. He has however failed, and is perfectly well understood, at the Department.—I *may* notice these slanders thro' the Newspapers, when all my business is done here."

Now that he saw that he was to be definitely out of the Governorship, Lane decided to run for Delegate to Congress. He was deeply concerned about conditions in New Mexico, and the negligence with which even the most desperate needs of the Territory were treated by authorities in Washington. "N. Mex. has so many wants and must have them supplied & her Delegate would, of necessity, be the most clamorous Beggar at the Capitol."<sup>21</sup> Undoubtedly he was under pressure by the same group of citizens who had backed him in the Mesilla conflict and had later urged upon the President his retention as Governor. But the political situation was complicated by a deep cleavage which divided the population of the Territory. There were two factions in the Catholic Church, one headed by the French bishop, John B. Lamy, who was carrying out a vigorous program of reform, and the other by Padre Antonio José Martinez of Taos, who had been excommunicated by the Bishop.<sup>22</sup> Lane's adherents belonged in the main to the former faction.

21. Gov. Lane to wife, Santa Fe, August 26, 1853.

22. Hubert H. Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico, 1530-1888, 1889.* p. 650.

The day after the inauguration of Meriwether, he announced his candidacy. He was opposed by Padre José Manuel Gallegos of Albuquerque, who had been unfrocked by Bishop Lamy, because of his morals or, rather, his lack of them, and who could neither speak nor write English. Lane confined his campaign to the Rio Grande Valley, which he reached by carriage, and to the mountainous country about Mora and Taos, traveling by muleback over rough and hazardous trails and sometimes his hopes soared high. But he was, by no means, unaware of opposition, although not of personal hostility. On August 30th he wrote his wife from Las Vegas: "I am thus far, upon an Electioneering tour, and I am in a Rabidly infected District. In point of fact, the opposition, to everything American, is so uncompromising that if this county should turn the scale against me, you must not be surprized. . . . They say, they have no personal objection to me, but that they have determined to elect one of their own race, that I am the most acceptable, of the Americans; but that they must try a Mexican."

The election was held on September 5 and thereafter his hopes rose or fell with the fluctuations in the returns. In the end, he was defeated, as he had foreseen by the votes in the northern counties, and by the rejection of the votes of the Pueblo Indians. The Gallegos majority, according to the statement of the Secretary of the Territory, was 511 out of a total of 9,975 votes.<sup>23</sup> More bitterly disappointed than he cared to admit, Lane notified Gallegos of his intention to contest the election.

On October 1 he set out for home on the Independence Mail Stage, accompanied almost as far as Pecos by a "Number of citizens in carriages and on Horse-back." The trip across the plains was uneventful and he reached Independence on October 22. On the 28th he was back in St. Louis. But he did not stay here very long. On November 24, accom-

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23. See Diary, Sept. 27, 1853.

panied by his daughter Anne, he was off for Washington to contest the election and render his accounts.

In his memorial to the House Committee of Elections he based his contention on the ground that " 'In conducting the election, illegal practices were allowed in some of the counties, and gross frauds committed by which means a majority of votes was obtained' for his opponent."<sup>24</sup> The Committee, however, concluded that, although there had doubtless been irregularities, they had not been serious and would not have changed the result. As a matter of fact, it raised Gallegos' majority to 708. The action was unanimous.

The matter of his accounts was considerably more complicated, and detained him in the Capital through March. "I believe, I have already told you, that I had two sets of accts. to close, with the Govt.—one as Govr.—the other as Superintendent of Indian Affairs and it will astonish you, to learn, that none of these accts. had been examined, altho' regularly rendered, until this winter."<sup>25</sup> "Many difficulties were started, in settling my Govr. accts. but each was met and explained, without dotting an i or crossing a t and the accts. were passed, just as I had sent them forward,—with compliments from Whittlesey<sup>26</sup> the 'watchdog' of the Treasury,—who said it was 'refreshing,' to meet with an officer like me, who had given his attention to something else than plundering the public."<sup>27</sup>

The Indian Affairs accounts took much longer. There was a great deal of red tape, checking and re-checking by various officials, which, he thought, tended to defeat itself by spreading the responsibility instead of placing it on one man who could be held to account. The only complication arose from his ill-fated agricultural experiments. "I am charged

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24. Report of Committee of Elections, Feb. 24, 1854. Rep. No. 121, 33rd Cong., 1st Session.

25. Gov. Lane to wife, March 26.

26. Elisha Whittlesey, First Comptroller of the Treasury, *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1961*, p. 1810.

27. Gov. Lane to Sarah Glasgow, March 5.

with money expended,—out of the Navajo and Utah appropriations, (not needed for those Indians), for the Apaches; & I cannot get a credit for these expenditures, until the Deficiency Bill, so called, passes.<sup>28</sup> But at last all was settled, his only claim that was disallowed being \$100 for Frank Smith's fare to Santa Fe. His New Mexican adventure was ended and he went home.

His last years were far from happy. He was greatly distressed and his life was complicated by the illness of Mrs. Glasgow, who was crippled by rheumatoid arthritis. Even worse was the Civil War. St. Louis was rent by dissensions of the most vicious sort. Lane considered himself a Southerner, and was infuriated by the Federal Government and by the highhanded acts of the local Provost Marshal. Despite his efforts to control his outbursts, his feelings were well known. Yet, some thought to his disappointment, he was neither arrested nor fined. He quarreled with many of his best friends. (After his death many copies of letters of apology for his intemperate outbursts were found in his desk.)

Hardest to bear were the incomprehensible Union sympathies of his son-in-law for whom he entertained the highest regard and the warmest affection. Yet the devotion of the two men, one for the other, was not undermined. Ignoring their partisan tirades, Glasgow looked after the old gentleman and his wife and daughter, and even planned in the fall of 1862 to take him to Germany, where Mrs. Glasgow was undergoing treatment at Weisbaden, as soon as he had recovered from a serious illness. But he never regained his strength, and died on January 6.

No doubt because of his "Secesh" sentiments, the *Missouri Republican* dismissed his death in a few curt words with no mention of his achievements or of his contributions to the growth of the city of which he had been the first Mayor.

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28. Gov. Lane to Wm. Glasgow, Jr., Feb. 19, 1854.

*Preface to Diary*

The original of the diary kept by Wm. Carr Lane, second American Governor of New Mexico, during the years 1852-53, has long since disappeared and, so far as I know, is no longer in existence. It was in two parts, one beginning with his departure from St. Louis, July 31, 1852, and ending February 27 of the following year, on the eve of his setting out from Santa Fe on a tour of inspection of the lower Rio Grande valley. This part, edited by Ralph E. Twitchell, was published by the Historical Society of New Mexico, November 1, 1917. Mr. Twitchell did not see the original script, inasmuch as he refers (p. 35, footnote 37) to "the copy of Governor Lane's Journal, in my possession." What I take to be this copy was found in 1938 among the papers left by Lane's granddaughter, the late Mrs. Newton R. Wilson, since the errors made by the typist correspond with those of the published version. This copy is now in my possession.

Although I had made a study of Lane's life and read what I thought to be all of his surviving papers, I was, until 1941, completely in ignorance of the fact that there had ever been a continuation of the diary. At that time I was told by my cousin, the late Carr Lane Glasgow, that he had owned one, which he described as "a black oil cloth covered book with a tab." He had found the handwriting "quite illegible." He told me that he had loaned it to a friend who was studying at Madison, Wisconsin. "That is the last I remember of it." During a visit to Madison some years later, on a chance I inquired at the Library of the State Historical Society, and found there, not the diary itself, but a typewritten copy. The Library records show that it was received in 1918 and returned in 1919 to a relative (now deceased) designated by Mr. Glasgow.

The lost original cannot have been wholly illegible, for if it had been, no one could have copied it. But the typist certainly had his difficulties. In the first place, the Governor's

handwriting is undeniably hard to decipher. To complicate the copyist's task still further, Lane had his own ideas, not so much about spelling—although he did make a few mistakes—as about the other mechanics of writing. He had a habit of capitalizing almost all nouns, and he scattered commas over the page much as he scattered salt or pepper over his food, letting them fall where they would. Finally, the Spanish and Indian terms proved baffling. The Governor himself was inconsistent, sometimes, for instance, writing *Gila* and sometimes *Hela* or even *Helah*. I have tried to reproduce what I think he wrote, right or wrong; where the error is clearly that of the typist, I have corrected it.

So far as I am aware this is the only journal Lane ever kept. His purpose seems to have been to refresh his memory in years to come of such things as he thought he might forget, and perhaps also for the delectation of his family. Unfortunately almost none of his official acts, not even the issuance of his proclamation about the disputed Territory, is even mentioned.



*Diary*

City of Sta Fé Oct.      New Mexico  
1853. Diary of Wm. Carr Lane

*Feb. 28.* After dinner set out for the southern part of the Territory. Jo Collins drove my 4 mule, & carriage, & Mr. Saml. Ellison Translator of the Ter.<sup>1</sup> rode with me in the carriage. My colored servants, Frank<sup>2</sup> & Dr. Massies<sup>3</sup> Jack, and José Maria, a wellbred Indian from the Pueblo of Tesuque, rode on Horse or Mule back. Halted for the night at the ranch of Don Manl. Delgado.<sup>4</sup> Mr. Winslow & wife<sup>5</sup> lodged at same place. Heard a Baby cry, for the first time, since leaving Morie<sup>6</sup> July last. Distance today 15 miles.

Bill at Delgados	\$4.00
Provisions brot from Sta Fé	1.50
Amt at Delgados	<u>5.50</u>

*March 1. Tuesday.* Early start, & reached the House of Don Ignacio Miera,<sup>7</sup> in Algodones by 2 p.m.—Baited the cattle & dined.

Charges.	\$
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1. Samuel Ellison was born in Virginia in 1817. After serving in the United States Army during the War with Mexico, he settled in Santa Fe in 1848, and made it his home for the rest of his life. He acted "as interpreter & secretary to Col. John Munroe, the then civil and military commandant of New Mexico." He occupied this post until the inauguration of governor James Calhoun. After the death of the latter, he served as secretary, translator, and interpreter for Governors Lane, Meriwether, and Rencher. J. Manuel Espinosa, "Memoir of a Kentuckian in New Mexico, 1848-1884," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, 13:1-13 (January, 1938) [Hereafter the REVIEW will be cited as NMHR]

[All footnote citations enclosed in brackets were inserted by Frank D. Reeve]

2. Frank Smith, for many years Lane's body servant, though whether or not a slave I have not been able to determine. Lane referred to him as his servant and friend.

3. "Dr. Thomas A. Massie, surgeon of volunteers from Missouri, Mexican War. Discharged in 1848, and practiced his profession in Santa Fe for several years." William Carr Lane, "Diary of My Journey from St. Louis to Santa Fe," Ralph E. Twitchell, ed., *Historical Society of New Mexico, Publication No. 4* (1917), p. 59, fn. 96. [Hereafter cited as, Twitchell, Lane Diary]

4. Delgado's Ranch, about fifteen miles south of Santa Fe, was a regular stopping place for travellers. Lane spent the night there on the previous February 3. Twitchell, *Lane Diary*, pp. 61-62.

5. [Perhaps Henry Winslow, clerk of the court, Valencia County, in 1852.]

6. Morie. Obviously Missrie (Missouri)

7. Unidentified.

Don Ignacio offered me, as a special favor, a California Horse, for \$120, which bargain I declined. Jacks mule became sick, & was left on the road side. Made Sandia Pueblo & stop'd at the House of the Gov of the Pueblo Pimero [blank in ms.] & were hospitably entertained, & had a good nights rest.

No charge made but paid	\$2.
Gave José who staid to bring up sick mule	1

*March 2 Wednesday.* Made an early start & Breakfasted at Don Juan Christoval Armijo's<sup>8</sup> met there Don Ambrosio Armijo,<sup>9</sup> Don [blank in ms.] Padre Gallegos<sup>10</sup> & Don Christoval's son & younger Brother, of Armijo's.

Stop'd without unharnessing, at Dr. Abadie's<sup>11</sup> in Albu-

8. "Don Juan Christobal Armijo was a native of Bernalillo County, was a successful merchant; a great Indian fighter and very prominent in the affairs of the Territory and county. He was a member of the House of Representatives of the First Legislative Assembly of the Territory of New Mexico; also of the Second Assembly." Twitchell, Lane Diary, p. 54, fn. 75.

9. "Ambrosio Armijo had risen to distinction during the Mexican period. In the fall of 1832 he was elected deputy from New Mexico to Congress in Mexico City (though he did not go because of a revolution); in the fall of 1843, he was one of nineteen forming the electoral college; in the summer of 1846 he was *jefe de hacienda*. After the American Occupation, he was recognized as one of those who controlled political affairs in Bernalillo County. In 1852, he made a sheep drive to California by the Gila route, losing 1,100 on the way." Historical Society Minutes, 1859-1863, ed., Lansing B. Bloom, NMHR, 18:287, fn. 102 (July, 1943)

10. José Manuel Gallegos, later Lane's successful opponent in a contest for the seat of Delegate to Congress. For the following note the editor is indebted to Lief Ericson Mueller (Mrs. Herbert E.) and to the Board of the Historic Santa Fe Foundation: "Born October 30, 1815, in Abiquiu, New Mexico, he received his early education in Taos as a student of the rebellious Padre Martinez. He studied for the priesthood in Durango, Mexico, where he was ordained in 1840. While still a priest at San Felipe de Neri in Albuquerque, he served two terms in the Mexican Departmental Assembly (1844 and 1846). . . ."

"He served four terms as Speaker of the House in the Legislative Assembly and two terms as Delegate from the Territory to the U.S. Congress (1853-55 and 1871-3). . . . His . . . career came to an end on April 21, 1875, when he died of a stroke at the age of 60."

11. "Dr. Lorenzo Labadie, afterwards U.S. Indian Agent, and prominent during the Civil War period, particularly at Bosque Redondo. His ancestor in New Mexico was Dr. Domingo Labadie, a Frenchman from St. Louis or Canada." Twitchell, Lane Diary, p. 58, fn. 95. He died at Puerto de Luna, on the Pecos River, August 10, 1904, at the age of eighty years. William A. Keleher, *Turmoil in New Mexico*, p. 48, fn. 8. The Rydal Press, Santa Fe, N.M., 1952.

querque; visited Mr. Tuly<sup>12</sup> & Mr. Clark.<sup>13</sup> Saw Major Rucker<sup>14</sup> Lt. Garrard<sup>15</sup> & Capt Pope,<sup>16</sup> Mr. Clark & the Jack priest Missionary, Reed,<sup>17</sup> of the Bapt. Mission.

Why Lane persisted in misspelling the Doctor's name is a mystery. Yet there was a Dr. E. H. Abadie, listed by Lieut. Col. E. D. Townsend among the prisoners taken by Confederates at San Antonio. *War of the Rebellion, Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series II, Vol. I, "Prisoners of War," etc. Serial No. 114, p. 43. [Cited hereafter as *Official Records*]

12. According to Helen Haines, *History of New Mexico*, p. 199, M. F. Tuley drew up the Constitution of New Mexico in 1850.

["So strongly contested was this first State election [1850] that a contest was made before the Senate by Murray F. Tuley." L. Bradford Prince, *New Mexico's Struggle for Statehood*, p. 21. Santa Fe, 1910. It is doubtful that he wrote the state constitution]

13. Not identified.

14. Daniel Henry Rucker, a native of New Jersey, entered the Army in 1837 without having attended West Point. He was brevetted Major in 1847, "for gallantry and meritorious conduct in the Battle of Buena Vista." According to F. Stanley (pseudonym for Stanley Francis Louis Crocchiola), *The Fort Conrad, New Mexico Story*, p. 13, Dumas, Texas, 1961, he took no active part in the Civil War, but this would seem to be an error, because, according to Heitman, he was brevetted Major General in both the U.S. Army and the Volunteers for "faithful and meritorious service during the War," on March 13, 1865. [Stanley states he had a "desk" job which would not rule out the citation for "faithful" etc. service]. Francis G. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army*, vol. 1. Washington, 1903. 57 cong., 2 sess., hse. doc. 446. His daughter Ann married General Phil Sheridan in 1873.

15. Kenner Garrard, a native of Kentucky, was graduated from West Point in 1847, and brevetted 2nd lieutenant of the 4th Artillery. On February 20, 1852, he was transferred to the 1st Dragoons. He saw active service in the Civil War, and was promoted to Major General for "conspicuous gallantry." Heitman, *Historical Register*, p. 447. Like Abadie, he is listed by *Official Records*, II, v. 1, Serial 114, p. 43, as a prisoner of the Confederates at San Antonio in 1861. Yet, according to Heitman, he saw service throughout the war.

16. John Pope. Later celebrated Union general in the Civil War. During the Mexican War he was promoted to Captain. "After the War, he came north for a short time on survey duty in Minnesota. Returning to the Southwest in 1851, he served at headquarters of the Department of New Mexico as chief topographical engineer until 1853; then for six years he was in the field, surveying a route for a Pacific railway, and experimenting with artesian wells as a water supply for the Llano Estacado." *Dictionary of American Biography* [Hereafter cited as DAB. See Lee Myers, "Pope's Wells," NMHR, 38:273-300, October, 1963]

17. The Rev. Hiram Walter Reed, the first Baptist missionary in New Mexico. Ernest S. Stapleton, Jr., "The History of Baptist Missions in New Mexico, 1849-1866," The University of New Mexico, unpublished master's thesis, p. 23. Why Lane calls him a "Jack priest" is inexplicable inasmuch as the term designated a renegade priest and Reed had never been a Catholic.

[The Rev. J. H. Reed, Baptist minister, serving as Army chaplain at Albuquerque, joined Col. A. B. Gray's R.R. survey party of 1854 in order to visit Fort Yuma. He is well spoken of by Gray and his associate, Peter R. Brady. L. R. Bailey, ed., *The A. B. Gray Report*, pp. 133, 193f. Westernlore Press, Los Angeles (41), 1963.

A biographical sketch of Rev. Hiram Walter Reed does not include mention of Gray's party. L. B. Bloom NMHR, 17:113 (1942)]

Wrote to Lt. Slinger A. A. Adj. Genl.<sup>18</sup> for order for Escort, & left Mr. Ellison, to receive the order.—Set out, got off the road; & I make these remarks, whilst my people are getting my carriage out of a mud hole,—in which the mules mired down, & stuck fast.

Exps. Mexicans for assisting to get us out of mud \$

*March 3 Thursday.* The Carriage Mules yesterday were so exhausted, after getting them out of the Mudhole, (with the assistance of some Mexns.) that they could scarcely draw the carriage.—Walked (about 1 mile excepted) from Albuquerque, to Agent Baird,<sup>19</sup>—some 3 leagues, as it seemed to me, & quartered there for the night. This morning—3d Mr. Ellison arrived, with Capt Ker,<sup>20</sup> & a Sandia Indian, who reports the sick mule left on the road dead; day before yesterday to be dead & José's Mule sick. Sent another Mule for José, & took passage in Judge Baird's carriage, & arrived at Dr. Connelley's,<sup>21</sup> at Peralta in the afternoon. Exp.

Indn Messenger	.50
Sent back for José	1

18. Not in Heitman, *Historical Register*.

19. Spruce McCoy Baird was an Indian Agent, and sometimes irritated Lane who was inclined to believe that he devoted time to his own business when he ought to have been with his charges. During the Civil War, he defected to the Confederates. He was the representative of Texas when it was claiming New Mexico and the Rio Grande. Keleher, *Turmoil*, p. 203, fn. 38. Known as "Judge Baird" and, because of his red beard, as "Colorado."

20. Croghan Ker. According to Heitman, *op. cit.*, p. 593, he resigned from the Army in 1851. This is confirmed by an item in the Post returns of Fort Conrad signed by M. S. Howe: "Resigned Croghan Ker, Captain Second Dgs. Resignation accepted. Nov. 10, 1851." General Services Administration, National Archives and Records Service, microfilm, RG 98, "Records of the United States Army Commands, Army Posts." [Hereafter cited as GSA, NARS, RG]

21. Dr. Henry Connelly, one of the most prominent and influential citizens of New Mexico in the mid-nineteenth century. Born in Kentucky in 1800, he was educated at the medical school of Transylvania University, now called Transylvania College. He took an active part in the negotiations between James Magoffin and General Manuel Armijo which led to the bloodless occupation of Santa Fe by General Stephen Watts Kearny. [Those who were influential in promoting the bloodless conquest of New Mexico in 1846 yet remain a problem for the historian]. He was the Civil War Governor of New Mexico, being twice appointed to that office by President Lincoln. He died in Santa Fe in 1866. Twitchell, *Lane Diary*, p. 55, fn. 78.

March 4. *Friday*, at Dr. Connelly's. Approved Agent Baird's Draft of this date N° 22, at 1 days Sight, upon L. Lea Comr. Indn. Affrs.<sup>22</sup> for (expdrs. for Navahoes) \$2237.68/100, & wrote Letter of advice

Paid Dr. Connelly by Check on Messervy & Webb<sup>23</sup> for \$1509.82

Apache Bill	1659.82
Cash to Wood	150.
" " W.C.L.	200.

Gave orders to agent Baird, to attend Comanche Council, if he could return, before July.

Remained at Dr. Connelly's all day & night.

José Maria came up next Morning with his sick Mule. Left a Mule at Dr. C's. for Baird.

### *Saturday March 5.*

Dispatched our Waggons, 3 in N° before Breakfast, but remained ourselves, & went to the House of the Widow Otero,<sup>24</sup> where we were joined by my secretary Miguel Antonio Otero.<sup>25</sup>

22. U. S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1850-52.

23. William S. Messervy and James Josiah Webb were business partners in Santa Fe, 1850-53. Messervy, a native of Massachusetts, had been a resident of Santa Fe for many years. After futile attempts at recognition as a Territory, in 1850 New Mexico petitioned Congress for admission to the Union as a state, and elected Richard S. Weightman, Senator, and Messervy, Representative. The petition was rejected by Congress, but New Mexico was then organized as a Territory and James S. Calhoun, who had been acting as Superintendent of Indian Affairs, was appointed Governor. "Letters of William Carr Lane, 1852-54," ed., Ralph P. Bieber, El Palacio Press, Santa Fe, Historical Society, *Publications in History*, 6:200 (April, 1928) [Hereafter cited as Bieber, ed., Lane Letters]

"James Josiah Webb had been in the Santa Fe trade from 1844. He had partnerships successively with George P. Doan (1845-49), William S. Messervy (1850-53), and John M. Kingsbury (1854-61). Webb represented Santa Fe County in the lower Legislative Chamber (1856-57), but the following August he returned permanently to his Connecticut home, Kingsbury operating the business in Santa Fe until their firm was dissolved in May, 1861. Bloom, ed., "Minutes," 18:290, fn. 118. Webb was the author of "Adventures in the Santa Fe Trade, 1844-47," in Ralph P. Bieber, ed., *Southwest Historical Series*, 1:301.

24. Widow of Vicente Otero, formerly Gertrudes Aragon, and mother of Miguel Antonio Otero.

25. "Miguel Antonio Otero I, son of Vicente Otero and Gertrudes Aragon, and a member of the legislature at the time of Governor Lane's arrival in the Territory. . . . He was elected delegate to Congress in 1855. In 1861 he was appointed secretary of the Territory by Abraham Lincoln." Twitchell, Lane Diary, p. 55, fn. 81.

- Our party now consisted of
- 3 Myself & 2 servants (Frank & John)
  - 4 Mr. Ellison Translator
  - 6 Mr. Otero & peon (to follow)
  - 7 Jos. Collins, my carriage driver
  - 8           Morgan driver of our Baggage waggon
  - Peter           &
  - 10           drivers of Freight Waggon
  - 11 Mr. Wood, Indn. Interpreter
  - & Capt of the army
  - 13 2 Mexicans of my party &
  - 15 2       "       with Freight Waggons
  - 16 Jose Maria, the Indn.

Saw abundance of missleto, on the dwarf cotton trees, near Dr. Connellys. Drank excellent Wine, at Dr. Connelly's & at Oteros. Crossed the Rio Grande, a few miles below Casa Colorado,<sup>26</sup> about 100 yds. wide & not 3 feet deep, in any of the numerous crooked Channels. Bottom sandy, but sufficiently firm to bear our Horses. Saw abundance of Wild Geese, Ducks, & White sand hill Cranes. Made Sabinal, & halted at the House of Don Pedro Torres,<sup>27</sup> who had gone several miles & crossed the River to meet us

distance some 28 ms.

Exps. to

50

*Sunday March 6.* Reached Limitar early & halted at the House of Genl. Armijo.<sup>28</sup>

26. [Casa Colorado was a very small settlement on the east side of the Rio Grande. Sabinal lay on the west side farther downstream].

27. Correct spelling Torres. Son of Don Juan Gerónimo Torres, who died in 1849, and executor of his father's estate. "Last Will and Testament of Juan Geronimo Torres," NMHR, 26:333 (October, 1951)

28. Don Manuel Armijo, who had been Governor and Commanding General of New Mexico at the time of the American occupation in 1846. After the conquest, he lived peacefully in the Territory until his death at Limitar, December 9, 1853. He was in his lifetime a very controversial figure, but after his death a number of reputable citizens, including Dr. Henry Connelly, arose to his defense.

*Monday March 7.* Made Ft. Conrad<sup>29</sup> & quartered with the Comdg. Offr. Major Marshall S. How,<sup>30</sup> who entertained Mr. Otero & myself, hospitably.

*Tuesday Mar. 8.* Remained at Ft. Conrad waiting for our Baggage Waggons, infantry being 1 mile in the rear at Bu[?] - Ranch.

The Weather moderated rapidly from the day we left Sta Fé.

From Algodones we found them plowing for corn. Wheat had been sown. The people were hard at work, upon their Acequias. Some grass began to show itself, in Bernalillo County, & the people have commenced uncovering their Vines. The last Winter has been Mild, every where in the Ter.

The people are sowing, by estimation, 50 per cent more wheat than last year, & are preparing for planting an increased quantity of corn land. The American plow is coming into general use, in the Rio Abajo,<sup>31</sup> & plowing now much deeper, & I presume less irrigation will therefore be required. Below Socorro, the Willows are in Leaf.

The weather was fine until yest. evening, when we had much wind & dust. Some Rumbling Thunder was heard once; & today, we had Hail, of about the size of small cherries, so as to cover the ground completely.

The Sun was so hot, on the 6th & 7th that my face was dreadfully burned, when I reached this place.

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29. According to the records of the Adjutant General's office, Fort Conrad was located "at Val Verde in Socorro County on the west bank of the Rio Grande, latitude 30° 34' 19" north, longitude 107° 9' 39" West."

"This post was established September 8, 1851 by elements of the Second Dragoons and Third Infantry and named after the then Secretary of War. The post was occupied until March 31, 1854 when the troops were withdrawn and the post was abandoned. GSA, NARS, RG 98, United States Army Command Post.

30. Correct spelling Howe. A native of Maine, and a graduate of West Point, class of 1827. He had been on duty in New Mexico at least since 1849. Keleher, *Turmoil*, p. 50. Retired with the rank of Colonel in 1866. Died, December 8, 1878. Heitman, *Historical Register*, pp. 547-48.

31. The Rio Grande Valley in New Mexico with Albuquerque the approximate center.

Exps. not known, paid by Don Saml. [Ellison] who keeps the acct, gave him per Secry \$15 today

Distance from Limitar about 38 miles.

Mail from Texas arrived this evening. Wrote to Greiner.<sup>32</sup>

8 March, Tuesday. "Fish Story." Dr. H. Connelly told us at his table, that his travelling party, once found the Bed of the Arkansas dry, & upon digging down into the sand, the hole was speedily filled with water, *in which were found many little Fish, some 2 or 3 inches long!* Allowing that the Fish were there, from whence did they come? Is it possible, that the spawn of Fish, could sink down into the sand, in the water, & hatch there? And if so, could a fish *grow* pened-up by sand, in this manner?

Above Sabinal, saw sulphur upon the surface of the ground, in the Rio Grande bottom, in 2 places, mixed with a saline efflorescence, at one place Sulphuretic Hydrogen gas abounded.

The wheat crop will be full 50 pr ct greater this season, than before. The yield of Wheat is from 15 to 20 Bu. pr acre, as well as I can learn People begin to manure their lands, in the Rio Abajo. Dr. Connelly told me that Don [blank in ms.] Perea, his Father in law, in Bernalillo,<sup>33</sup> reaped 40 Fanegas<sup>34</sup> of wheat for 1 sown upon Manured Land. And a gentn. whom I saw at Genl. Armijo's, told me, that 100 had been produced from 1. This seems incredible.

The yield of corn is from 25 to 35 Bu. per acre as well as I can learn. The corn is sd. to be heavier, than corn in the states, but wheat is lighter. All the Wheat is spring wheat.

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32. "John Greiner, a native of Ohio, served New Mexico in the following capacities: Indian Agent, July, 1851-March, 1852; Acting Superintendent of Indian Affairs, March-September, 1852; Secretary of the Territory, August, 1852-May, 1853." Bieber, ed., Lane Letters, p. 189, fn. 25.

33. [Probably José Leandro Perea, prominent citizen of New Mexico who lived in Bernalillo.]

34. A unit of dry measure in Spanish-speaking countries, equal in Spain to 1.58 U.S. bushels.



Mr. Ward<sup>35</sup> came in this morning. Gave him \$20, for Exps. gave \$10.

Latitude, Longde. Altitude

Albuquerque

Lat. 34° 31' 37"

Long. 106° 51' 06"

Altitude 4756 ft.

Ft. Conrad

Lat. 33° 34' 19"

Long. 107° 09' 39"

Altde. 4576 ft.

From mem. of Capt Jno Pope-& probably copied from Emory<sup>36</sup> (?)

Church El Paso 31° 45. True initial point 8 ms. north of El Paso 31° 52'

Speech of Howard mem. Cong. Texas<sup>37</sup>

9 Mar. Wednesday. Remained at Ft. Conrad, in consequence of Connelly's Teams being out of condition to en-

35. John Ward, Indian Agent. In 1868 he made a bitter report to a Congressional Committee on the way the Indian problem was being mishandled by Congress and the military. "Strange as it may appear, it is nevertheless a notorious fact that the only way an Indian can call the special attention of the government to his wants is by committing robberies and murders. The mere fact of an Indian being peaceably and well disposed is of itself sufficient cause for him to be neglected and entirely disregarded. . . .

"Congress must find a place for the wild Indian tribes to live. This is a serious matter, the Indian must have a place to live on, and Congress must procure it for him. . . ." Keleher, *Turmoil*, p. 476. A journal kept by him and edited by Annie Heloise Abel was published under the title "Indian Affairs in New Mexico under the Administration of William Carr Lane. From the Journal of John Ward," NMHR, 16:206-232, 328-358 (April and June, 1941)

36. William Hensley Emory, a member of Kearny's staff in 1846. "From 1848 to 1853 Emory was employed as a commissioner and astronomer in working out boundary line problems between the United States and Mexico. His services in 1853 under the Gadsden Treaty were particularly valuable. A prolific writer, Emory published 'Notes of a Military Reconnaissance in Missouri and California,' New York, 1848 . . . , and 'Report of the United States and Mexican Boundary Commission.' (Washington.)" Keleher, *Turmoil* p. 110, fn. 8.

37. Volney Erskine Howard. Elected as a Democrat from Texas to the 31st and 32nd Congresses (March 4, 1849-March 3, 1853.) *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1949* [Hereafter cited as BDAC]. He was interested in the Mesilla Valley question. Fernandez de Taos, *op. cit.*

counter the Jornada.<sup>38</sup> Review of troops. Dined at Capt Stah<sup>39</sup>

*Friday 10 Mar.* Remained for same reason. Dispatched Ward with the waggons & went, 5 miles ahead, where there was wood, water & grass. One waggon to be repaired.

Wrote to Dr. Connelly at Peralta & to Prefect Baca<sup>40</sup> at Socoro, about putting captive Inds. [Gap in ms.] Sent the letters by Felix Garcia, who returns home, in consequence of his services not being required by Mr. Otero.

This Mr. Garcia can ride at full speed, upon his pony, & pick up a dollar from the ground. I saw him pick up his Laso twice:—& as for throwing the Laso, it is done with unerring certainty. He offered, to Major How, to pick up Dollars, if they were given to him; & to pay a dollar for every one he failed to pick up.

I saw a Flock of Wild Geese, in the water near Sabinal, all of which, according to my vision & that of my companion, were judged to be white. They had the Note of the Brant.

The corn of N. Mexs. according to the Testimony of the Off. at the Army, is heavier than corn in the States. Can this be a fact? The Wheat is lighter, than the Wheat of the States.

Marshall Spring How, Major Comg. at Ft. Conrad  
Miss Serena Margaret Cleland, &<sup>41</sup>

38. Jornada del Muerto. An arid, almost waterless plain, about ninety miles in length, on the east side of the Rio Grande from Fray Cristóbal to the Mesilla Valley. Dreaded with good reason by travellers since the Spanish conquest.

39. Capt. Stah. Probably a misspelling; another instance of the copyist's inability to decipher Lane's writing.

40. At Socorro stopped at the house of Señor Don Pedro Baca y Pino, the Prefect, and awaited upon by the Alcalde. Twitchell, Lane Diary, p. 56.

[“At Socorro stopped at the house of Señor Don Pedro Baca y Pino, the Prefect, and was awaited upon by the Alcalde. Twitchell, Lane Diary, p. 56.

41. “Let me apprise you that I was most kindly entertained at Ft. Conrad, (Val Verde) by the commanding officer, Major Howe, and his sister-in-law, Miss Cleland; and that I have given her a letter to you. She is a very clever young lady, as all agree, with features somewhat peculiar. Her grandmother was a Greek,—she hails from Pensacola.” William Carr Lane to Anne Ewing Lane, Santa Fe, April 30, 1853. Archives of the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, Missouri.

Lucius, his son 4 ys. old  
 Capt. Wm. Steele,<sup>42</sup> Dragoons, & his wife  
 Lt. Jno W. Albey, 3d Infy.<sup>43</sup>  
 Dr. Elisha P. Langworthy<sup>44</sup>

Whitings Dragoon Colt pistol. Lost by Collins, (as he says Stolen), on the 8th at Beckwiths Ranch.<sup>45</sup> Have no confidence in Jo. Collins. He is both Drunkard & Gambler, & g-d knows what else.

Mistletoe abounds, says Miss Cleland about Ft. Conrad. Have seen none myself except at Peralta. She says the flower is pretty.

Val Verde, am disappd. in this place.

*March 11, Friday.* Left the Hospitable Ft. Conrad, under an Escort of 30 Dragoons, commanded by Lt. Albey, expecting to overhaul our 2 Freight & 1 Baggage Waggon, before we reach Fra Christoval<sup>46</sup> where there is water, & to encamp some 10 or 12 ms. in the Jornada. Crossed the Rio Grande 5 miles below the Fort, good Ford. Water in deepest part to Saddle girths Timber cotton wood, unusually abundant. Tall & Straight Mistletoe abounds, a beautiful valley, & a picturesque mesa on the East of Rio Grande, & W. of place

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42. A native of Albany, N.Y., and a graduate of West Point, class of 1836, he was brevetted for gallantry and meritorious conduct in the war with Mexico. At this time he was stationed at Fort Conrad. He later resigned to join the forces of the Confederacy. Heitman, *Historical Register*, p. 919.

43. Second Lieutenant, 3rd Infantry, stationed at Fort Conrad, Assistant Post Adjutant. Letter dated March 29, 1852, GSA, NARS, RG 98, Army Command Posts.

44. Native of New York. Post Surgeon at Fort Conrad. Resigned from the U.S. Army April 30, 1861 to serve in the Confederate Army. Died March 8, 1862. Heitman, *Historical Register*. Cf. *Official Records*, I, v. 4, pp. 101-102.

45. Rand McNally's *Business Atlas of 1876* places Beckwith's Ranch between Fort Conrad and San Marcial. Property of Hugh N. Beckwith.

46. On the east bank of the Rio Grande, 15 miles below Valverde. "One would think that as long as they have been passing towns all down the river, that this must be one too, or at least a settlement; but no, there is not even the dusky walls of an adobe house to cheer its lonely solitude. Like Valverde, it is only a regular camping place with a name." *Down the Santa Fe Trail and into Mexico*. The Diary of Susan Shelby Magoffin 1846-1847. Ed., Stella M. Drumm, p. 195. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1926.

known as Fra Christoval, where we halted for water for the cattle to fill our casks for the "Jornada del muerto"\* which is entered at this point. Encamped about 12 ms. in the Jornada. Cold windy evening.

*Sat. 12 March.* Rose at 3 A.M. & after a cup of Coffee set out. Windy yesterday, lulled during the night. Made the Lagunas,<sup>47</sup> 11½ ms. apart, by ½ past 8 A.M. 15 miles or thereabouts. Mr. Allison<sup>48</sup> says we are 30 miles from the "point of Rock,"<sup>49</sup> a place of great danger, & 57 miles from the end of the Jornada.

The Jornada, thus far, is a Valley from 30 to 50 miles wide, (when there is an occasional expansion), between parallel ranges of Mountains running N. & S. Some 1500 or 2000 feet in height upon the level of the valley. Not a tree is in the Vale or on the Mountains & the Mountains appeared to my vision to be bare even of bushes\*, altho covd. with grass. The valley was covd. with grasses of various kinds, some of which was not dead. The Soil looks rich & the face of the country in the Valley is remarkably level. The soap plant & different species of Cactus abound. The Jornada rises gently to near the middle of it & then declines to its south end. Our present stopping place, the Lagunas, is the

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\* "Journey of the dead"

47. The Rand McNally map of 1876 places them in the Jornada, across the Rio Grande from Fort McCrae, 18 miles below Fra Christoval, a spot now covered by Elephant Butte Reservoir.

"Laguna del Muerto, or Dead Man's Lake. In dry seasons, it was a mere depression in the plains, and to get water the driver would have to go five or six miles into a narrow gorge to Ojo del Muerto (Dead Man's Spring.) Here, many of them were killed by Apache Indians, who frequented the neighborhood." Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 1844 ed., Vol. 2, p. 73.

48. Mistake for Ellison.

49. "Point of Rocks is a mass of blocks of syenite, towering to the height of several hundred feet above the plain. A clear mountain spring comes out of the rock." Ralph E. Twitchell, *Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, 2:128. The Torch Press, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1912.

\* Tis said there is Timber in the Vallies on these Mountains

first water, since leaving the River at Fra Cristoval, & is the last, until we reach the River again. After a long rest, set out at 3 p.m. & made 39 or 40 ms. by 11 oclck at night. Slept without Supper, cattle were worse off for they had no drink. Cold night Slept in the carriage & suffered from cold. For 250 yrs. have the people of this country traveled on this dreary stretch, without water; but I am sure water can be reached, by common wells, & they ought to be made immediately, one of which ought to be at the point of rocks.

*Sunday 13 March.* Made an early start & reached the Rio Grande at Robledo, or a little above it at 10 a.m., about 20 miles. After a halt of 2 hours, during wh. we breakfasted, & baited our cattle, we resumed our march & halted at the House of Don Pablo Melendez,<sup>50</sup> in Doña Ana,<sup>51</sup> about 8 ms. distant, whole distance, today, about 28 ms. Mr. Ward came up in good Season. Entertained kindly by Don Pablo Melendez & his 3 daughters, Trinidad Josephita & Jesusita. Invited to a Ball. It is Lent, but as the Priest goes, we may venture to go also.

*Monday 14 March.* Went to the Ball last night but the Padre was not there The Music consisted of a violin, Harp & Guitar, & (a part of the time) by 2 extemporaneous Singers, (one of them singing second), who sang pretty sentimental verses, that would have done credit to people of more external refinement,\* for these singers were in their shirt sleeves. The Ball was got up, in honor of my visit, & did not

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50. Correctly spelled Melendrez, Prefect of the County of Doña Ana. According to the *New Mexican* of July 7, 1868, he was the founder of the town of Doña Ana. He had just died at the age of 68, and had always been looked upon "as a safe and prudent counselor." [Melendrez was justice of the peace entrusted with land allotments in 1846, but José Maria Costales was leader in settlement, 1843.]

51. Founded in 1843.

\* So says Mr. Otero, & I take his word.

continue long, after I retired, which was before 11. Made Ft. Fillmore,<sup>52</sup> & was obliged, unwillingly, to quarter with Col. Miles,<sup>53</sup> a walking sponge, martinet & a —

*Tuesday 15.* Reached Mr. Hugh Stephensons<sup>54</sup> *Wed. 16.* *Thursd. 17, Frid. 18* at Mr. Stephensons. Dined at Maj officers the 17

*Sat. 19 Mar.* Set out from Mr. Stephensons for Ft. Fillmore, & quartered at Major Richardsons<sup>55</sup> at that post.

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52. "Ft. Fillmore was located on the Rio Grande about two miles south of Las Cruces. . . . It was established by Col. Edwin V. Sumner in 1851." Bieber, "Letters of William Carr Lane . . .," p. 194, fn. 44. "In 1854, while the then attorney general of the territory of New Mexico, Judge W. W. H. Davis, was visiting this section, he visited Fort Fillmore. He described it as a large and pleasant military post, built in the form of a square. The quarters of the officers formed one side, and the barracks of the enlisted men forming two sides, while the south side extended to the Rio Grande. There were quarters for a battalion of infantry at this place. All the buildings were of adobe, and quite comfortable." Col. M. L. Crimmins, "Fort Fillmore," NMHR, 6:327 (October, 1931)

53. Colonel Dixon S. Miles. "On June 1, 1853, Lieutenant Colonel Dixon S. Miles, Third Infantry, was assigned to the command of the Ninth Military Department. Two days later [Colonel E. V.] Sumner again headed the department. On July 1 Miles took over the command a second time and held it until July 20, when he was succeeded by Brevet Brigadier General John Garland." A. B. Bender, "Frontier Defense in the Territory of New Mexico, 1846-53," NMHR, 9:271, fn. 116. (July, 1934)

Apparently, Lane and Miles clashed during the former's visit to Fort Fillmore, for on his return from the post on March 19, the Governor wrote the Colonel a sharply worded note. The disagreement was evidently over the disputed area, for in it he reminded Miles that the army was subordinate and auxiliary to the civil authorities of the U.S. Keleher, *Turmoil*, p. 131, fn. 66.

54. Although he fails to say so in the diary, Lane obviously went to El Paso, where Stephenson lived. Hugh Stephenson came to El Paso del Norte in 1824. Stephenson was the owner of the 900-acre estate of "Concordia" on the present site of El Paso, and the El Brazito grant at Fort Fillmore. He died October 11, 1870 at Las Cruces. He also owned extensive mining properties in the Organ Mountains. His property was confiscated by the Federal Government during the Civil War, but later was recovered. James Magoffin Dwyer, Jr., "Hugh Stephenson," NMHR, 29:1-7 (January, 1954.)

55. Major Israel Bush Richardson. A native of Vermont, he graduated from West Point in 1836. In 1847, he was brevetted captain "for gallantry and meritorious conduct" in the Battles of Contreras and Churubusco; and to Major for similar conduct in the Battle of Chapultepec. He resigned from the Army in 1855, but returned at the outbreak of the Civil War. Colonel in the 2nd Michigan Infantry; Brigadier General and later Major General of Volunteers. Died November 3, 1862, of wounds sustained in the Battle of Antietam. Heitman, *Historical Register*.

*Sunday, 20.* Set out, from Ft. Fillmore & dined at Mr. Thomas Bulls<sup>56</sup> in Las Cruces, 2½ ms. from Mesilla.<sup>57</sup>

Towns in the Disputed Ter.

Mesilla, popn. say	2500
Santa Tomas	" " 250
Alimstar	" " 250
Say, Total souls	3000

12000 Fanegas Corn, produced by Mesilla alone last year N. B. Apple pd. export duty of 6½ cts a Fanega for Corn, pd. 6 per cent import duty, upon his Mdhse, besides 500\$ for his permit to do business, as a mercht.

No wood & no lime can be taken from & no debts can be collected, upon Soil, do not deliver up cumin confiscated Lands. Not allowed toleration in religion, collect Tythes & First Fruits.

*March Sunday 20.* Arrived at Doña Ana Monday 21 Tuesd. remained there. Mr. Ellison set out with Major Richardson, this day for Sta Fé.

*Sunday 27.* Have remained in the Town of Doña Ana, at the House of Señor Don Pablo Melendres [sic], prefect of the County of Doña Ana since the 22nd Inst., waiting for the Indians, for whom I have sent, to come in; or, at least, to hear some tidings of the Indns. But as there is a limit to patience, if the Transportation for my Ind Goods arrives, I will set out, tomorrow, for Ft. Webster,<sup>58</sup> near the Copper Mines.

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56. Thomas J. Bull was foreman of a jury in the County of Doña Ana on May 2, 1853. Fernandez de Taos, *op. cit.* [See Charles S. Walker, Jr., "Confederate Government in Doña Ana County," NMHR, 6:280-96 (July, 1931)]

57. In 1853 Mesilla was still on the west bank of the Rio Grande, but in 1865 the river cut a new channel to the west of the town, and since then it has been on the east bank. During the brief Confederate occupation it was governed as the Territory of Arizona. [Cf. Adlai Feather, "The Territories of Arizona," NMHR, vol. 39, no. 1 (January, 1964)]

58. "The records of the Office of the Adjutant General indicate that Fort Webster was established at the 'Copper Mines,' January 23, 1852, and the post was removed to 12 miles

*Monday 28.* Mr. Ward started, with the freight waggons for Ft. Webster

*Tuesday 29.* Set out for Fort Webster, near the Copper Mines,<sup>59</sup> Mr. Otero in the carriage with me, Anselmo & Frank on Mules, & my Saddle-Horse, led by Frank. Overtook Mr. Ward, with the Train, near Robledo, 8 ms. & stopped to rest & bait cattle a few miles in the Jornada [sic], about 10½. The day hot & the oxen much distressed, by the heat.

Left of the Indian goods (100 sheets & 50 Mex. Blankets & a Lot of Tobacco), for the Mescalero & other White Mountain apache Indns. to be distributed, by Don Pablo Melendres, according to his discretion. I also authorized him, to issue, to these Indns., corn not to exceed 40 Fanegas.

I had remained at Don Pablo's house, about 9 days, & I have [given] him one oz & 2 eagles—\$35 (which he accepted reluctantly), for the trouble we had given him.\*

The Don, & a Cavalcade bore us co. a few miles, on our way. Robledo is the last watering place, (the Lagunas sometimes excepted), until you cross the Jornada, & again see the Rio Grande at Fra Cristoval. There is a small Spring, about 6 ms. from the road, W. of the Laguna, at the foot of the Mountain.

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east of the 'Copper Mines' on September 9, 1852, and was abandoned December 20, 1853. The records indicate that the Latitude was 32°, 48', Longitude 108°, 04' Gr., Elevation 6350." Letter from Miss Mabel E. Deutrich, Archivist in Charge, Early Wars Branch, General Services Administration, National Archives and Records Service to editor, June 8, 1961.

"A ground plan of this second Fort Webster on file in the National Archives shows quite an impressive number of buildings on a 'plateau.' The post was apparently quite close to the bluff bordering on the west of the river. . . . Construction was of adobe. On the east and between the post and the river, running south was the 'Road to Forts Fillmore and Conrad,' while to the west and running south, southwest was the 'Trail to the Copper Mines.'" "Mangas Colorado caused Ft. Webster," Lee Myers, *The Southwesterner*, December, 1962.

59. *The Copper Mines.* The Copper Mines of Santa Rita del Cobre were discovered [about] 1800, and had been worked ever since under various ownerships except when operations had to be suspended because of Indian depredations. They are today the property of the Kennecott Copper Company.

\* Mr. Otero & myself. Ward has paid for every thing else



There is no settlement, from the Town of Dona Ana, to Val Verde, about 120 miles.

Reached San Diego,<sup>60</sup> after dark, 22 mi. from Doña Ana, as well as I can learn. No House, or even field, here, remained all night, on a Bank of the Rio Grande.

*Tuesday 30.* Early start, & successful passage of River, some 200 yds. wide, & not quite deep enough, to come into carriage. Banks about 6 feet high. Anl. Rise of River, commencing in April, 'tis said.

Alarmed, by the Report of 6 guns ahead. Prepared for Indns. false alarm. Halted at half past 10, on Rio Grande.

Encamped at the deserted Mxn. Town Santa Barbara,<sup>61</sup> after dark. Left a sick ox, on the road. A Mexn. waded the River, & told us that the shooting was done, by a party of men cutting timber on the Rio Grande, gave him something to eat, & parted with him. Saw a large Black tailed Deer. Collins shot at some cranes, but missed.

*Wednesday 31.* Up at 2 & off at 3. Guards inattentive, & Oxen strayed some distance, causing delay. Halted at the Tenaha,<sup>62</sup> so called, & remained until about 3½ p.m. Distance probably 10 ms. This Tenaha is a most remarkable pheno-

60. "San Diego was the name of the crossing of the Rio Grande near the north end of the Mesilla Valley. Travelers to the right crossed the Jornada. Those to the west crossed the river and traveled in a southwesterly direction by way of Mule Springs and Cook's Spring across the Mimbres to Cow Spring." Frank D. Reeve, letter to the editor, April 12, 1961.

61. [About fifteen miles north of San Diego crossing on the west side of the Rio Grande near the site of Fort Thorn, which was built there in December of 1853 as quarters for the garrison from Fort Webster.]

62. Correct spelling Tinaja. "The water is about one hundred feet lower than the camp, in a rocky chasm difficult of descent for animals; the chief supply is a natural rockbound well thirty feet in diameter and twenty-four feet deep. It contains about fifty-five thousand gallons. Many feet below it are two smaller holes, which the animals can get at, two or three at a time." Ralph P. Bieber and Averam B. Bender, eds., "Cooke's Journal of the March of the Mormon Battalion, 1846-1847," in *Exploring Southwestern Trails, 1846-1854*. The Arthur H. Clark Company, Glendale, Calif., 1938 (The Southwest Historical Series, ed., Bieber, vol. 7) [Hereafter cited as Bieber, Cooke's Journal.]

[The Tinaja was called "Foster's Hole" by emigrants from the United States. Robert Eccleston, *Overland to California on the Southwestern Trail*. Ed. by George P. Hammond and Edward H. Howe, p. 168, note 2. Berkeley: University of California, 1950]

menon, worth a days ride to see it. An arroya crosses the road at the foot of a hill, running Northward, & then turns towards the E; and, by taking the other line of the triangle, you cross the point of a hill, about  $\frac{1}{4}$  mile over, & find yourself in Valley, or Cañon, as it is called, that calls to mind Stephens description of Petra, in Ancient Edom. The sides of the Cañon are perpendicular cliffs of Black Volcanic conglomerate, such as I never saw before, with a metallic luster, where it is exposed to the Weather. There is a fall of some 6 or 8 feet, in the canon, with 2 escapes for the water, separated by a Mass of Rock. One of these cascades empties into what is not inaptly termed a Tenaha, a Mexican water vessel. The Tenaha is oval, with its longest diameter, in the direction diagonally across the canon. Its greatest diameter, may be 21 feet, & its shortest about 18. The carriage driver says he sounded it, with a picket rope & pin, & found it to [be] 17 feet deep. The Water in it, & it was nearly full, notwithstanding the excessive drains that are made from it, to Water large trains, & the waste of the Water, by being baled out, & poured upon the sand, so that Cattle can have access to the water to drink. It is nearly sheltered from the sun, & the water was cold & palatable, indeed exceedingly good. The outlet from the eastern rim, of this natural stone reservoir, was much worn, altho' the rock is of flinty hardness; & yet it does not appear, that Gravel, or detritus pass thro' the Tenaha as, in that case, it would be filled up with stones. These pass thro' the other opening.

A few yards, below the Tenaha there are 2 depressions in the Solid Rock, resembling Mortars (for pounding hard substances), of the size of a large Apothecaries Mortar. No Man can look at these excavations, & not feel a conviction that they have not been made by man, for Mortars. But when & by whom? Below the Tenaha, the Canon widens & presents sufficient Room for Tents, or huts, & thereby in-

vites man, in a certain stage of civilization, to make this spot his Home.

Made the Mule Springs<sup>63</sup> before dark. They rise out of the volcanic rocks & soon sink again. Can it be that the Tenaha is supplied by a spring? & that it is of great size at certain seasons & then cleans the Tenaha of sand & stones? From the water mark, it appears the height of the water, in the Tank, is very uniform. How can this Uniformity be sustained, amidst the constant drains, for the Cattle & Travellers, & by Evaporation, which must be great, notwithstanding that it is much sheltered, from the Sun? Indeed, it must be the Evaporation, that keeps the water so cold. Have crossed a Beautiful prairie, so level as to seem to have been the bed of an ancient Lake. The Mountains which shoot up, in the valley, are volcanic. Water good, at Mule Springs. The road from Fort Conrad, comes into the road we now travel, some half way, between Santa Barbara & the Tenaha.

*April 1.* Resumed our March at  $\frac{1}{4}$  past 4 a.m. A Team having come up, returning, about Midnight, we exchanged our 4  $\frac{1}{2}$  yoke of broken down oxen for 5 yoke, in better condition, & exchanged Train conductors, for the better, I hope.

Encamped for Breakfast at Cooks Springs.<sup>64</sup> Say 14 or 15 ms.

Made yesterday say 20 ms. It is very remarkable, that the Mexns. , can never give any correct information, about distances, in miles, leagues, or mule time. Made the Mimbres (a long 25 ms.) & encamped. Whole distance today 40 ms.

63. Cf. footnote 60.

64. "Cooke's Spring was named after Col. P. St. Geo. Cooke, on the staff of Gen. Stephen Watts Kearny. . . . Cooke led the Mormon Battalion through New Mexico to California in the fall of 1846." Keleher, *Turmoil*, p. 266, fn. 35.

"Nov. 16. Our course S. 15° E., bending slightly to the right into a curve, or shallow cove, of the mountains. Here, at their feet, after coming about thirteen miles, we find a small swampy hole of water, apparently insufficient, with plenty of black mud close to the surface." Bieber, Cooke's Journal, p. 101.

*April 2.* Reached Ft. Webster, on the Mimbres, 12 or 15 ms. & quartered with Major Steen,<sup>65</sup> the comdg. offr.

Whole distance from Dona Ana to Ft. Webster, by Sta Barbara about 130 miles. Distance of Ft. Webster from Mule Spring over 60 ms. (says Mons Gerad jean),<sup>66</sup> & only 25 ms. over the near route, across the Mts., & so says Lt. Norris<sup>67</sup> also, who has passed over the near road. Lt. Norris says a good road might be made, for waggons, over the near route. The Mimbres heads north of Ft. Webster, & after running some 60 or 70 miles, in its whole length, it sinks, & does not rise again. It is a clear Little Creek, at this point with clear water, & a rapid current; but it is said to go dry, sometimes.

*Apl. 3,* Sunday, at Ft. Webster.

*Apl. 4.* Held a Council with several bands of Apaches.

*Tuesday April 5.* Conferred Medals, as emblems of authority, upon José N & Conchillo Negro,<sup>68</sup> & left one in

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65. Enoch Steen, a native of Kentucky, enlisted in the Army from Missouri. "Second Lieut. Mounted Rangers, 16 July 1832; Second Lieut. 1 Dragoons, 19 September 1833; First Lieutenant, 5 March 1836; Capt. 31 December 1840; Major Second Dragoons, 15 July 1853; transferred to First Dragoons, 28 October 1855; First Cavalry, 3 August 1861; Lt. Col. Second Cavalry, 28 September 1861; retired 23 September 1863. Heitman, *Historical Register*.

"On . . . February 2, 1850, a band of Gila Apaches in an attack on the town of Doña Ana, killed one man and wounded three. While Major Enoch Steen was after them in vigorous pursuit another band cleared the settlement of stock. The major at once advised the location of a post at Santa Rita to overawe the hostiles." Ralph H. Ogle, "Federal Control of the Western Apaches, 1848-1886," NMHR, 14:339 (October, 1939)

66. Obviously a misspelling by Lane or a typist. Unidentified.

67. Charles E. Norris, native of Indiana and graduate of West Point in class of 1847. At this time, Brevet Second Lieutenant, Second Dragoons. Heitman. *Historical Register*, p. 75. He was stationed at Fort Conrad in 1851 and 1852. GSA, NARS, RG 98, Army Command Posts.

68. Correct spelling Cuchillo. A Warm Springs Apache, who claimed that he was doing some farming northeast of Fort Webster.

"Almost simultaneously [1857] Colonel W. W. Loring, detached to the north, struck another band at the Cañon de los Muertos Carneros, where, in addition to killing seven more (including the notorious Cuchillo Negro), he seized several families along with over one thousand head of stock." Ogle, *op. cit.*, 14:346.

Notorious or not, he was important enough to have a stream named after him. "The name normally was spelled Cuchillo Negro, meaning black knife, though I have often thought the name for the six main feathers in the wing of a hawk, cuchillos, might make better sense." Albert H. Schroeder, letter to the editor, October 23, 1962.

hands of agent Wingfield<sup>69</sup> for Ponse.<sup>70</sup> Distributed presents, council completed, & articles of compact agreed upon.

*Wed. 6.* Engaged in writing Treaty, or compact, & articles of agreement with Fletcher.<sup>71</sup>

*Thursday 7.* Treaty, or Compact, signed with Mimbres & Helah<sup>72</sup> apaches, by wh. they agree to become Stationery, to cease to live by plunder &c.

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69. In 1852-53, a considerable number of Gila Apaches were under the care of Agent E. H. Wingfield. Twitchell, *Leading Facts*, 2:302.

[Wingfield served at Fort Webster from November, 1852, to July, 1853. NMHR, 16:221-349 *passim*].

"The stage from Independence came in last night. Brought Major Wingfield, a passenger." Wm. Carr Lane to "My daughters." Santa Fe, Oct. 27, 1852. Archives, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, Co.

70. "Ponce claimed the land east of the Burro Mountains to the Rio Grande as far as Santa Barbara." John Greiner to Luke Lea, Aug. 30, 1852, GSA, NARS, RG 75, New Mexico Field Papers. His band was separate from that of Mangas Coloradas. Schroeder, letter to the editor, *op. cit.*

This Ponce was not the Apache of that name who escorted General O. O. Howard into Cochise's stronghold for his conference with the celebrated chief of the Chiricahua Apaches in 1872, because he had been killed by his own people in "a drunken frolic" July 8, 1854. Michael Steck to Governor Meriwether, Aug. 30, 1852, GSA, NARS, RG 75, New Mexico Field Papers.

71. *Fletcher*. GSA, NARS, Office of Indian Affairs, Letters Received, M-234, Reel 546, May 21, 1853, refers to "Jessican [Jeançon?] Fletcher, the interpreter." Lane refers to him as Francois. Report by Lane, Santa Fe, May 21, 1853. *Ibid.* Apparently, as it turned out, Fletcher did not deserve the confidence reposed in him by Steen and Lane.

"The farm as I said above is called the Indian's farm but not so, it is claimed by Fletcher and the Indians so far as I can see from the contract between Gov. Lane and 'F.' have no claim than to a part of the corn growing upon it, which as I wrote you, has somehow been allotted among 150 or so families amounting in all to less than 200 souls. I hardly know what to do in the premises. Fletcher is there by the permission of the Commander of this post and by virtue also of a contract with Gov. Lane to cultivate land for the Indians and to instruct them. The contract does not acknowledge any right of the Indians to the farm but simply the using of the fruit for the year. Fletcher claims it as his own worked, improved and cultivated as it has been by Indians and asked me the moderate little sum of \$1600 for his interest which I wish to purchase as I saw he did not suit and put a man there under your instructions who would make it valuable as a means of feeding the Indians and encouraging them to work." J. M. Smith, Indian agent at Fort Webster, sent this information to Governor Meriwether on September 10, 1853. In this same letter he also complained that Fletcher allowed the use of the house for the sale of whisky to the Indians. *Ibid.*

72. Correct spelling, *Gila*. Why Lane sometimes misspelled this word is a mystery. He knew better; he spelled it correctly in his letters.

*Friday 8*, at Ft. Webster.

*Saturday 9*. Set out for Helah, accompanied by Major Steen, with a small command, of 16 Dragoons. Ponce & 2 of his Indians also, passed the Copper Mines, 14 ms., & Halted, 6 ms. further—20 ms. at water, in the arroya of Copper Mines Creek.<sup>73</sup>

Night uncomfortably cold (we slept in the open air).

*Sunday 10*. Set out at 7 oclk, course nearly South, upon an Old Trail, over which Waggon had once tis said passed over a country, sometimes very Level, & sometimes rolling, but never hilly, or wooded; well covd. with grass, & some Mesquite, & a few other stunted Bushes. In 3 or 4 Vallies, the soil was of surpassing fertility. Passed Water, at one place only. Ponce calls it, the Apache Spring,<sup>74</sup> where water is abundant, but too warm to be palatable. Made Ojo La Vaca (Cow's Spring).<sup>75</sup> Both at this watering place, & the Apache spring, the water does not run far, & is lost. Distance today, from 22 to 25 Ms., encamped for the day & night at Cows spring, where there is more grass, than I have yet seen. The day is the warmest of the season.

It is said that the 11 line of the disputed Ter.<sup>76</sup> runs by this point, Cows Spring, & at this point, our Trail intersects Cooks California Trail.<sup>77</sup> Our trail, thus far, is the old Mexn. trail from [Janos] Sonora to Copper Mines.<sup>78</sup>

73. "This is the Nogal Brook shown on 'A Map of the Road from Fort Thorn to the Rio Gila' by B. L. E. Bonneville and 1st Lt. L. W. O'Bannon, 1857: U.S. National Archives, Record Group 77, U.S. No. 323, No. 1." (Schroeder, letter to the Editor, October 3, 1962)

74. "Shown as Pache de Ho (Apache water or spring) on the Bonneville map." Schroeder, *ibid*. Later the site of Ft. McLane, and the reputed site of the killing of Mangas Coloradas on January 19, 1863.

75. "Ojo de Baca" on the Bonneville map. A short distance to the northwest of the present town of Deming. Schroeder, *ibid*.

76. *The 11 line of the disputed Ter.* "This is the line projected by Bartlett at 32° 22'." Schroeder, *ibid*.

77. The trail followed in 1846 by Lieutenant Colonel Philip St. George Cooke, leading the Mormon Battalion from Santa Fe to San Diego, California.

78. The missing word is almost certainly *Janos*. Actually, Janos is in the Mexican state of Chihuahua, and not Sonora, as Lane says.

Many Wolves prowled & howled, around our camp, last night, & many herds of antelopes have been in sight, today, but our 2 Indn. Hunters have not brot. in any fresh meat. Saw some doves & California partridges yesterday & some doves, & 2 or 3 Brown Rabbits, today.

The road from Ft. Webster, to Copper Mines, lies over Mountains<sup>79</sup> well covd. with Timber, Pine, Cedar & Oak, and some other kinds. It is the largest Timber I have seen, since I crossed the Mountains, between Vegas and Sta Fé. The White oaks & Black Jacks, retain their leaves green, all winter; but are said to drop them, before the dry season ends, which is about the middle of Sept. If so, these Trees are not strictly Evergreens, as they are called. The White-oaks, resemble the Live-oak, of the Sea-board.

Saw yesterday, 3 varieties of the Mescal (Magay [Maguey]), out of which the Indns, prepare an excellent article, for food, in great quantities. It grows in the Mountains. Several Varieties of Gigantic cactus, are seen, & the Soap plant, (of the palm family), is more & more abundant, & luxuriant in growth. Cut canes from the fruit stalks, & procured seeds of same.

Saw 4 Horned frogs, today, & caught one of them, compared to the nimble Lizzard, which is seen every few yards, they are slow motioned. Have passed many [prairie] Dog Towns, today.

*Monday 11.* Commenced our march, at 7 a.m., across the plain, in a course about 30° W. of N. as near as I could judge, without a compass, towards a wide gap in the mountain chain. It seemed to me, as if we were turning the South end of the B[urro] Mountains;<sup>80</sup> & then passing over the Western Spurs of that Mountain range, our course lay over rol-

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79. "Ben Moore Mountain on Bonneville map." Schroeder, *ibid.* [Sometimes named Copper Mountain.]

80. "These are the Little Burro Mountains of today. The Burro Mountains are farther to the west." Schroeder, *ibid.*

ling, sandy, gravelly lands, without Timber, of any kind, except Mesquite switches.

In the afternoon, we crossed a ridge<sup>81</sup> & descended on a valley which led us to a swampy spot, where water could be had, for digging a foot or so, but as our Indn. guide, said there was good water near at hand we started without drinking, ourselves or cattle, & did not reach water, until we crossed another Hill, & descended into a deep, Rocky canon, here there was a large spring.<sup>82</sup> Here we camped for the night.

At the 1st water, Ponce discovered a track, & fearing it was a vidette, of the Sonorians, with our consent, sent his peon, to a watering place, to spy. In the evening, he returned, with a Mule which he had found, but he brot. no tidings, of Sonorians or Indians, to Ponce's great relief.

*Tuesday 12.* Last night was very uncomfortably cold, to those who slept in the open air. We are, probably, in the spurs of the Burro Mountains, & are possibly some 5 or 6000 feet above the Level of the Sea. Marched before 8 a.m.

After attempting to pass down the Cañon, on which we lay, we found it to be impassable, some 3 or 4 miles down, & the waggons & carriages were forced to return, to camp & take another cañon, which finally united, with the cañon they had left, & which continued to run W. & N.W. until it debouched upon a plain which some say is 4 & some say is 10 leagues from the Hela.<sup>83</sup> After having made about 6 Ms. from our encampt., we encamped for the day & night in a very narrow, grassy Valley, at a point where the water of

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81. "The *ridge* was most probably the Continental Divide, at a few miles southwest of present Tyrone. The party was now in the homeland of Mangas Coloradas." Schroeder, *ibid.*

82. "This canyon seems to have been one of those draining the head of present Mangas Creek. The identity of the spring is not known to me." Schroeder, *ibid.*

83. . . . *10 leagues from the Hela.* "The second canyon described is present Mangas Creek, formerly known as Santa Lucia Canyon and shown as such on the Bonneville map." Schroeder, *ibid.*



the Rivulet, in the cañon, sinks;<sup>84</sup> from which point, there is no water, to the Gila, & our Water Cask is store (We have done well in all our travelling arrangements, but if there had not been a Brandy bottle, nearer than 500 Miles, we would have done much better).

The Country thro' wh. we passed, yesterday afternoon & this morning, & abounds with Flax, & wild Barley\* as it is called is seen and is in head. The flax is in bloom, & grows upon the Hills, as well as on the low parts of the vallies. Most of these plants, have a greater height, than 18 inh. Tis said, wild oats & wild Rye,# is found in this region. I have yet seen none. The cañon, in which we are encamped, is not on an average 50 yds. wide, with perpendicular, or nearly perpendr. walls (of a singular conglomerate), which appears to me to be about a 1000 feet high, but wh. my companions say are more than 3 times that height. The White Oaks & Black Jacks, of this region, do not cast their leaves during the Winter; the former begin to look yellowish now; but the foliage of the Black Jacks is of the deepest green.

There are some small Willows in the Cañon, & a small cotton wood is occasionally seen at long distances. plants of the palm family, abound, & the new grasses is half leg high, to the delight of Horses & Mules.

This day, is Gov Lane's [?] (as the party are pleased to call it, because I am the first Gov, that is supposed to have ever entered it), has been [?] & exceedingly uncomfortable from the excessively high wind. Collected some specimens of curious stones, & picked up a Grape vine for Mr. G. St. Louis. It is late, but perhaps it may live. The night was very cold, & every body suffered somewhat. Ice was twice as thick as a dollar in the Water Bucket. The distance this day

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84. "Probably was some distance above Santa Lucia Springs, since the party had no knowledge of it." Schroeder, *ibid.*

\* and some wild Rye.

# Have seen the Rye.

does not probably exceed 6 miles, from my last nights camp, altho' we have passed over more ground.

*Wednesday 13.* Took up our line of march about 7 A.M. passed Westward down an arroyo, then N. some 45° W. across a mesa. Thence down an arroyo, a little S. of W. until we reached the object of our march, the Rio Gila, at noon.<sup>85</sup> Encamped near a sink above the place of intersection on acct of grass, & remained the bale. of the day & the night.

The Gila here runs nearly south, has a rapid current with clear Water, & gravelly Banks about 5 feet high, which appear to overflow in some places only during floods. The rich alluvium is covered with tolerably sized cottonwood Trees, & with little Willows. The soil of River bottoms, where they are subject to be overflowed, are Sandy & unfit for Cultivation; above this level they are fertile & easy of irrigation, as the fall in the river, here, must be twice as great, as it is, in the Rio Grande. The Fishermen were seen at this post, & sundry messes of whitefish coloured silver sided pink, with exceeding small scales, were taken, cooked for dinner. I do not believe I have ever seen this fish before. It has some resemblance to the pike, but is not so slender, & has a wider mouth & no teeth that I saw. One was taken 15 in. in length.

Since we debouched from the Mountain upon the plain, some 15 miles wide we have seen abundance of Partridges of a Leaden brown colour, with top knots on their heads, like the California partridges. One was shot, & used for fish bait, and one was killed with stone & eaten. It was exquisite eating. A prairie dog & a Rattlesnake were also shot, & an ante-

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85. "The party apparently followed the arroyo westward down canyon, then left the canyon before reaching Santa Lucia Springs, and moved northwest across the open country to another arroyo that drained west to the Gila River (this latter arroyo is shown on the Bonneville Map.) They reached the Gila at the site where the Gila Depot was set up during the Bonneville campaign of 1857. Of interest here is the route their Mimbres Apaches guide, Ponce, took. He avoided following Mangas Creek to the Gila, perhaps with a purpose. The lower end of this valley is the area Mangas Coloradas' Apaches were known to be farming in the later 1850's. This may have been what concerned Ponce when he expressed a fear of encountering lawless Apaches on the 13th, when the party was in the homeland of Mangas Coloradas." Schroeder, *ibid.*

lope shot at. A Huge Wild He goat of the common Species brot. up the rear of the herd of Antelopes. He was, no doubt, a Stray from the Indians, or Mexns. When I saw him I thot. of Moses "Scape goats" in the Wilderness.

Ponce is afraid of Lawless Indians. We bid him be easy, as we were abundantly able, to take care of ourselves & cattle, at which he seemed surprised.

Major Steen has 16 men, & he makes the 17th. My party consists Mr. Otero, Sec. Mr. Ward, Intr. the 2 drivers the 2 coloured men, 3 Mexs. & 3 Indns. (1 of which is detached to find other Indns.) in all, myself included, 13, making a total of 30 men, all well armed, except the 3 apaches, who have Bows & arrows. I fancy we could-successfully resist 300 apaches, armed as they generally are, with Bows only.

Whole distance today perhaps 18 miles. The plain, on this side of the Burro Mountains, is tolerably covd. with flowers, some of them new to me, & very beautiful. I observed what appeared to my ignorant eyes several varieties of Cresanthe-mums. Different parties explored the Gila Northward & reported fertile vallies with plenty of wood (cotton wood) for building purposes & fuel. Turkeys few in ns. were seen, but nowhere Game except partridges.

I was enabled to see the country myself for about 10 miles above our camp.

*Thursday 14th.* Set out on our return, to the Rio Grande, as I have not been able to procure a trustworthy guide to Ft. Defiance,<sup>86</sup> as we are scarce of provisions, with no prospect of getting any from the Fort or the Indians, & last tho' not least, as there is so little grass to return to the Rio Grande, is our only resourse.

Major Steen, Ponce, Mr. Otero, Mr. Sherman<sup>87</sup> & 2 dra-goons, went down the River, to a point on the canon thro' which it appears to run for 8 or 10 ms. from which we had

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86. Established by Col. E. V. Sumner in 1851.

87. Not identified.

a view of the valley of the Gila, (in all), for about 25 or 30 ms. The Course of the River here is West by South. Above our encampment it appears to have the same Genl. course for a considerable distance. Tis said to head some 80 or 90 miles above us. Below the Cañon it appears to bear more to the West.

My visit to the Gila, was for the purpose of ascertaining its fitness for a future location for the Apaches. It will do, well for that purpose.

Encamped in the Cañon in which we encamped the 13. Windy as heretofore, I christened it Wind Cañon. Night cold. Ice formed as thick as a dollar. Black Current leaves froze hard & so the herbage genly.

*Friday 15 April.* Early start. Our Indn brot. us a deer last night, which gave us a good breakfast, partridges, Mocking birds, Turkey tracks Bear tracks, some deer, grass good in some of the Vallies, passed one place where water might have been gotten by digging a few feet only, but did not stop & so went without water until Sunset. After crossing the second Mountain ridge<sup>88</sup> & getting upon the great plane which lies between the Copper Mine Mountains on the East & the Burro Mountains, on the West, we bore northward of our outward track, from "Ojo La Vaca", so as to go North of the "Apache Spring" & a little south of "Night Spring,"<sup>89</sup> & encamped some 3 miles below our Camp on the night of the 9th July,<sup>89a</sup> a little South of the Copper Mines upon a little rivulet which issues from a Mountain Cañon & soon sinks.

This days march is computed to be 50 miles, as we have been constantly upon the move from half after six in the morning until the same time in the evening, a half hour devoted to grazing only excepted, it may be 50 ms. but I would

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88. *After crossing the second Mountain ridge.* "This ridge was the continental divide." Schroeder, *ibid.*

89. *Night Spring.* There seems to be today no record of a spring by this name.

89a. Obvious mistake either of Lane or of the copyist. Should probably be 9th April."

rather suppose it to fall short of that extreme distance, some 5 or 10 Ms. We [went] right across the immense plain, regardless of ravines & hills, down & up, with our 8 Mule Waggon & 4 Mule Waggon & ambulance, to the amazement of our Inds. Night not so cold.

*Saturday 16 April.* Late start. Major Steen Mr. Otero, Mr. Sherman & Myself, attempted to cross the Mountain, by a mountain path, to save distance without a guide; but were obliged to return to our night Camp & take the road after the Waggons. And we afterwards took another path, "for a short cut" but only made the ride more tiresome, by the badness of the road & steepness of the Hills. "The furthest way round would have been the nearest way home".

Distance today say 20 ms. Stop'd with Major S. & sent the party down to the Mimbres to grass.<sup>90</sup>

*Sunday 17 April.* Completed my business arrangements at Ft. Webster Had my last talk with the Apache Indn. Chiefs Cuchillo Negro (aged about 80), José Nuevo & his Brother (?) José Cito,<sup>91</sup> Visute [Veinte] Reales<sup>92</sup> & Ponce & recd. their benediction & Embraces & Set out upon my return to the Rio Grande after dinner. I had with me Mr. Otero, Cuye,<sup>93</sup> Frank & Jos. Collins, Ward & the rest were ahead. Encamped for the night on the Mimbres with Ward & party, & Wingfields Boy, where the road leaves the stream. Heard Turkeys Gobbling, saw Bear tracks & killed an immense Rattlesnake with 13 rattles.

Night pleasant.

90. Although Lane fails to say so, the party was evidently back at Fort Webster.

91. *José Nuevo and Josecito.* "This name Josecito occurs among various Apache groups. There was one often mentioned who lived on the Mimbres river, quite distinct from the Indian of the same name among the Mescaleros. I feel certain that this Josecito was of the Mimbres group." Schroeder, *ibid.* José Nuevo was also a Mimbres tribe member. Schroeder, *ibid.*

92. *Visute [Veinte] Reales.* "Took part in the Lane treaty of April 7, 1853 drawn up on this particular trip. He was a Mimbres Apache. A copy of the treaty is in Record Group 98, New Mexico Land Records, 1853, No. 8." Schroeder, *ibid.*

93. Apparently one of the Mexican drivers.

Mem. Apl. 17. This day Drew a check, upon Messrs. Messervy & Webb Sta Fe, at 5 days sight, paym. to order of D. Duval & Co. for \$50. \$30 for Ward, 20 put in bag.

When here before, drew upon same, 4 checks, for agent Wingfield, and \$1950. See his Rect. for \$2000 which includes 50 paid, by me, to A. Duval & Co.,<sup>94</sup> for Wingfield.

*Monday 18.* Collins shot a large Turkey Cock near camp, & I saw a lean Fox, too far off to be shot.

This Turkey with the Deer killed by Ponce's men & 2 partridges killed by the party are the only fruits of the chase (1 prairie dog excepted), since we left Sta Fé. We may therefore justly assume that game is exceedingly scarce in this region.

Encamped before noon, at Cooks spring.

Encamped for the night at the Mule Spring. for Distances see Diary of outward journey.

*Tuesday 19.* Up at 2, & at the Tenaha by 6 a.m. Examined the Gramma grass found it to be green, in the Main Stem, for near its whole length. I mean the joints. The top, which has no joints, & the blades, are uniformly dead.

Examined the Tenaha, myself; found the depth to be about 11 feet. It was shaped after this manner [?] C. is the Tenaha — — A the inlet B the outlet The pitch into the pool is some 10 feet high & the fall out of it about 5. In its two long diameters, it is about 15 feet. The Wall of the Tenaha, extends above the water on the South 25 or 30 feet, & overhangs a little, thereby skreening it from the Sun. All the water & drift, passes into the Tenaha, as I now find; & the force of Water is so great, as to hoist the drift out of it, so as to preserve the present depth of Water, in the Tenaha.

The Water in the Tenaha is clear & cool, & about 14 inches below, a Well defined high-water mark, around its rim. The uniformity in the height of the water, in this na-

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94. A. Duval & Co. Not identified.

tural tank, is still matter of surprize, to me. It has, probably, not recd. any supply of water, from above ground, since last Sept; and, in all probability, not less than 500 men, & the same number of animals, have encamped & watered here, since that time. Allowing each man to have used 1 quart, & each Horse Mule & Ox, to have drank 4 galls. upwards of 2000 Galls. must have been drawn out, in the mean time; possibly even double that quantity, as the water is wasted, in being used for cattle, by being poured into an excavation in the sand. The place is a puzzle to me. Saw an Eagles nest, upon a little shelf, under a projecting cliff, very difficult of access.

All the Maps of N. Mex are erroneus, in laying down a continuous range. The Mounts. are all circumscribed in length, & for the most part, completely insulated & conical. Between this camp, at the Tenaha & the Rio Grande (say 12 Ms. to Sta Barbara), we pass over a low pass, in one of these short Mountain ranges (which is in some degree parallel with the River), and the Tenaha is in the Cañon, so called, which, here, has cut its way thro' this Mountain pass. The mountain is composed, of a very singular Volcanic Conglomerate. The Rocks which existed, at the time of the eruption of Lava, seem to have been shivered, in small pieces, by Heart [*sic.*] in motion, or by bothm& then to have been surrounded by the Lava, which cooled, under this state of things. Resumed our march at Noon, & reached the River on the Valverde road at say 68 ms. Distance today about 33.

	say	miles
Distance from Sta Fé to Elpaso		365
Elpaso to Ft. Fillmore	45	
Ft Fillmore to Dona Ana	15	60
Dona Ana " Ft Webster overland	30	130
Ft Webster to Gila River by way of Ojo de la Vaca say		110
Back to Ft Webster		90
Whole distance		<u>755</u>

Made the River above Sta Barbara, about 15 miles from the Tenaha at 4 p.m. & encamped for the day & night. River rising 4 inches per hour, by a water guage.

*(To be continued)*



## THE LANGUAGE OF THE SALINE PUEBLOS PIRO OR TIWA?

By ALBERT H. SCHROEDER\*

IN the 1600's, pueblos along the east side of the Manzano Mountains, New Mexico, often were referred to collectively as the Pueblos of the Salines because of their proximity to the salt lakes (map 1). Missions were established among them, beginning in the early 1600's, but Spanish settlement in the region did not take place until long after the Pueblo Indians of this area abandoned their homes. A combination of droughts beginning in the 1660's and raids by the Apaches of the Sierra Blanca and of the Seven Rivers (Guadalupe Mountains), forerunners of those today called Mes-calero Apaches, gradually broke down the morale and subsistence economy of the people of the Saline Pueblos. By the middle 1670's they abandoned their homes, joining other pueblos on the Rio Grande.

For years, historians<sup>1</sup> have been referring to the people

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1. Adolf F. Bandelier, *Final Report of Investigations among the Indians of the Southwestern United States*, Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America (Boston, 1892), pp. 253ff. J. Lloyd Mecham, "The Martyrdom of Father Juan de Santa Maria," *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 6 (Washington, 1920), p. 314. George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, *The Gallegos Relation of the Rodriguez Expedition to New Mexico*, Historical Society of New Mexico, Publications in History, 4 (Santa Fe, 1927), p. 50 (note 104). Frederick W. Hodge, George P. Hammond, and Agapito Rey, *Fray Alonso de Benavides' Revised Memorial of 1634*, Coronado Cuarto Centennial Publications, 4 (Albuquerque, 1945), pp. 254 (note 75), 265 (note 80).

The pueblos of New Mexico speak three languages, Zuñi, Keres, and Tanoan. The last has three divisions—Tewa, Towa, and Tiwa. The Towa has two dialects, Jemez and Pecos, and the Tiwa has three, northern Tiwa, southern Tiwa, and Piro. The Tanos of the Galisteo Basin spoke the language of the Tewa according to Governor Diego de Vargas in 1692 (J. Manuel Espinosa, *First Expedition of Vargas into New Mexico, 1692*, Coronado Cuarto Centennial Publication, 10 (Albuquerque, 1940), p. 80.

Scholes was the first to show some doubts regarding the affiliation of the Saline group to the Tiwas. In 1930 he referred to "the Tompiro or Saline villages." In 1940 he noted that the 14 or 15 pueblos that Benavides identified as Tompiro were "usually classified as the Manzano branch of the Tiwa," and suggests that some were Tiwa. In 1945 he remarked that the Tompiro "included Abo, Tenabo, and other towns in the 'Salinas' area." France V. Scholes, "The Supply Service of the New Mexican Missions in the Seventeenth Century, 1663-1680," *New Mexico Historical Review*, Vol. 5 (Albuquerque,

of the Humanas pueblos (Gran Quivira, Pueblo Pardo, and Pueblo Blanco) and Abó as Tompiro-speakers and those from Quarai to Chililí as a group that spoke the Tiwa language, a tongue known to have been used by the people along the Rio Grande between the junction of the Rio Puerco on the south and Jemez Creek on the north. It is important to note that all statements labeling Indians of the Saline Pueblos as Tiwa-speaking were made *after* the abandonment of these pueblos in the 1670's. All contemporary reports of the 1600's (issued prior to the abandonment of these pueblos) that make any reference to the language of these people indicate that it was not Tiwa. The following review of documentary data relating to the subject strongly suggests that all of the people east of the Manzano Mountains spoke the same language.

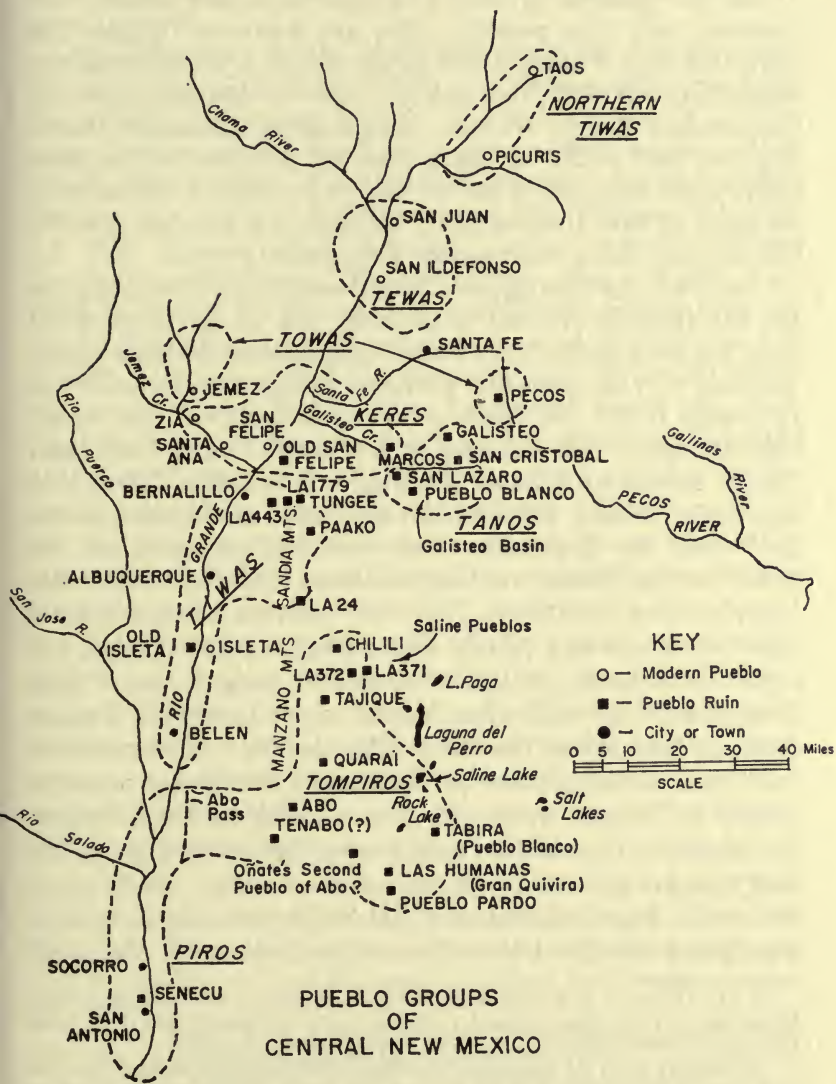
From the very beginning of historic times in New Mexico the documents indicate that all of the pueblos to the east of the Sandia and Manzano Mountains were identified, for one reason or another, as groups separate from the Tiwas on the Rio Grande. Chroniclers of the Coronado expedition of 1540-42 described Tiguex (Tiwa province) as a province of 12 pueblos "on the banks of a large and mighty river," thus restricting the Tiwa province to the river valley.

Pedro de Castañeda also noted that "to the east there is a snow-covered sierra, very high and rough [Sandia Mountains]. At its foot, on the other side, there are seven pueblos, four in the plain and three sheltered on the slope of the sierra." His listing of all of the pueblos visited by the expedition contains one group referred to as seven pueblos of the "sierra nevada."<sup>2</sup> *This indicates that these pueblos were separate from those listed for Tiguex and Galisteo Basin.*

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1930), pp. 400-01. France V. Scholes and H. P. Mera, "Some Aspects of the Jumano Problem," *Contributions to American Anthropology and History*, No. 34, Carnegie Institution of Washington Publication 523 (Washington, 1940), pp. 277, 280. Scholes in Hodge, Hammond, and Rey, *Benavides' Revised Memorial*, p. 264 (note 79).

2. George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition, 1540-1542*. Coronado Cuarto Centennial Publications, 2 (Albuquerque, 1940), pp. 253-54, 258-59.



Of the pueblos of this time period in and around the Sandias, only five possible sites are known—Tungee, LA 1779, LA 443, Paako, and LA 24, all on the slopes of the mountain, but only the last two are on the east side. If Castañeda's Sierra Nevada included the Manzano Mountains as well as the Sandias, then the pueblos on the plain could have been any four of the five known to have been occupied at that time—Chililí, Tajique, LA 371 and LA 372 between the above two pueblos, and Quarai.<sup>3</sup>

In 1582, the Rodríguez-Chamuscado expedition came up the Rio Grande, crossed to the west side of the river, went over the mesa behind San Felipe, and entered another valley (Jemez) to visit a pueblo, probably present Santa Ana.<sup>4</sup> On returning to the Rio Grande "over the same road by which they had gone," they crossed to the "south" bank (southeast bank). Bolton said west, thinking it was Jemez Creek that was being crossed. This was an erroneous assumption on his part since the Spaniards went east from here to see the bison on the Plains without another crossing of the Rio Grande being mentioned. The river crossing was made from west to east from a pueblo they had previously visited and called Castildavid, probably the site of present San Felipe. From here they went up a "small" river (probably Tunque Arroyo) that joined the other (Rio Grande). Three pueblos were seen on this stream (excluding old San Felipe near the mouth of Tunque Arroyo?). These probably were Tungee, its neighbor (LA 1779), and Paako, the last being on the east side around the north end of the Sandias. At this last pueblo the Spaniards learned that there were eleven or thirteen other pueblos about three days farther up the small

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3. LA (Laboratory of Anthropology) site locales are either from the Museum of New Mexico files or H. P. Mera, *Population Changes in the Rio Grande Glaze Paint Area*, Laboratory of Anthropology Technical Series Bulletin 9 (Santa Fe, 1940).

4. Publications on the Rodríguez-Chamuscado expedition have suggested that this party went up the Rio Grande as far north as Taos pueblo. Internal evidence of the report indicates that they did not proceed beyond the junction of the Rio Grande and Galisteo Creek. For this reason the pueblos as identified herein do not agree with those proposed by Mechem and Hammond cited above.

river to the south that were "of a different nation and tongue from these."<sup>5</sup>

Since the west slopes of the Sandias were used as a refuge by Tiwas,<sup>6</sup> and old San Felipe formerly was located near the mouth of Tunque Arroyo, perhaps the people of the three pueblos on the small river were either Keres and/or Tiwas. The pueblos of a different language farther up the river to the south probably were Chililí, Tajique, LA 371, LA 372, Quarai, Gran Quivira, Tabirá (present Pueblo Blanco near Willard), Pueblo Pardo, Abó, Tenabó, and Oñate's second pueblo of Abó (which never has been located). The Spaniards did not go to these eleven pueblos, but from the last one visited (Paako) they went on (east) to see the bison on the Plains. They "returned down the river through the same country they had traversed" and arrived at Puaray.<sup>7</sup> Thus, the people of the three pueblos on the small stream may have been either Keres or Tiwa-speakers, but the eleven farther to the south and on the east side of the mountains *definitely were identified as belonging to another language group.*

The Rodríguez-Chamuscado party, however, later did visit some of these pueblos east of the mountains. After making a trip to Zuñi and returning to Puaray, they learned of some salines 14 leagues from Puaray. They found them behind (east of) the mountains named Sierra Morena (Manzanos), probably going east to the salines by way of Tijeras Canyon. They visited many (five) pueblos of the salines but were unable to go to three described as very large, which also were near the salines.<sup>8</sup> These last three possibly were the three Humanas pueblos (Gran Quivira, Pueblo Pardo, and Pueblo Blanco) or the most southern and western pueb-

5. Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1706* (New York, 1952), pp. 147-149. Hammond and Rey, *Gallegos Relation*, p. 49.

6. George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, *Expedition into New Mexico made by Antonio de Espejo, 1582-1583*, Quivira Society, 1 (Los Angeles, 1929), p. 80.

7. Bolton, *Spanish Explorations*, pp. 148-149.

8. *Ibid.* Hammond and Rey, *Gallegos Relation*, pp. 50, 64.

los of the group—Gran Quivira, Tenabó, and Oñate's second pueblo of Abó. Having approached the salines from the south end of the Sandia Mountains and having turned southeast out of Tijeras Canyon, the journalists of this expedition did not realize that these pueblos were among the eleven reported before (at Paako). They seem to have assumed that the eleven pueblos were all on the upper waters of the river (San Pedro Arroyo in the headwaters of Tunque Arroyo) draining north on the east side of the Sandias. Aside from Paako and LA 24, no other ruins of any size and of this time period are known to be on the east side of Sandia Mountain, certainly nothing approaching the figure eleven.

Fray Juan de Santa Maria, one of three friars with the Rodríguez-Chamuscado party, had decided to return to Mexico by himself to report on the explorations to date. He left Galisteo Basin and two or three days later was killed in the Sierra Morena (Manzanos), probably on the east slopes since he was taking a straight-line short cut south to the Rio Grande (toward the Socorro region) from Galisteo Basin. Mecham's study of this expedition identifies the killers as Tiwas, possibly because the pueblos from Quarai north were so termed by earlier historians. The only lead in the documents of the Rodríguez-Chamuscado expedition is the statement in the Gallegos relation that the Indians of the Galisteo Basin (Tanos) followed the friar and killed him.<sup>9</sup>

Reports of the Antonio de Espejo expedition of 1582-83 also refer to the people east of the mountains. After coming north up the Rio Grande, Espejo established a camp near the north end of the Piro settlements on the river. He then took a few men and made a side trip (probably via Abó Pass) to a province of eleven pueblos which he called Magrias, *thus distinguishing the latter group from the Piros on the Rio Grande.*

Espejo only visited two of the eleven pueblos (the more western in locale), probably Tenabó and Abó or Tenabó and

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9. Hammond and Rey, *Gallegos Relation*, pp. 37-38. Mecham, "Martyrdom," p. 314.

Oñate's "second pueblo of Abó" which was closer to Gran Quivira than was Abó. It is obvious that the first pueblo visited by Espejo was not Abó, since he stated that the village had two plazas and four kivas. Abó, built in the form of a large compound, exhibits one plaza and one or possibly two kivas. Diego Pérez de Luxán, who accompanied Espejo, remarked that this province was reached by going 10 leagues from the Rio Grande, that it "adjoined the region of the cows" (bison country), that Chamuscado had not visited it, and "that here they [Indians] had killed one of the religious, called Fray Juan de Santa Maria."<sup>10</sup> The "they" in the above quote may refer either to the people of this province, one of the two pueblos visited, or to any Indians (such as those who, according to Gallegos' account, followed the friar from Galisteo Basin). In any case, the locale of the friar's death seems definitely to have been within this province east of the Manzanos, not on the Rio Grande or among the Tiwas. Perhaps the good father was trying to reach the Rio Grande via Abó Pass and met his end at one of the two pueblos Espejo visited.

It appears that Luxán also assumed that these eleven pueblos were separate from those reported by the Rodríguez-Chamuscado expedition and were not one and the same as the pueblos near the salines, some of which were visited by Rodríguez and Chamuscado on a side trip out of Puaray. In short, the expedition of 1582 saw the more northern pueblos of this province, near the salines, and the Espejo party of 1583 saw the most southwesterly pueblos. Neither, however, seems to have reached the pueblo of Las Humanas in the southeastern part of the province, as far as can be determined from the documents.

Castaño de Sosa did not visit nor mention any pueblos east of the Manzanos in 1591. Though he seems to have

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10. Hammond and Rey, *Antonio de Espejo*, pp. 76-78. Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, pp. 179-181. George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, *Obregon's History of Sixteenth Century Explorations in Western America . . . Mexico, 1584* (Los Angeles, 1928), p. 322.

visited Tungee before reaching the Rio Grande in the Tiwa area around Bernalillo, the journal entry is not clear as to whether the people at Tungee, which a few days before had been attacked and deserted, were related to those on the Rio Grande. "From the information which they had there [east of the Rio Grande or at Santo Domingo], and which they had given us everywhere in the country, these [on the Rio Grande] were the pueblos that had killed the Padres. . . ." "These were the pueblos" definitely implies a group or province different from the others that Castaño had visited up to this point. However, this entry does not definitely separate the pueblos along Tunque Arroyo from the Tiwas.<sup>11</sup>

Seven years later, Oñate defined the border between the Tiwas and the pueblos east of the Sandias. On October 6, 1598, he left San Juan pueblo and went through the Tewa pueblos to the south. The following day he reached San Marcos pueblo, and then on the 8th he traveled 6 leagues (his league was roughly about 4 miles) to "El Tuerto," thought to be near present Golden or San Pedro by various historians. Since no sites of this period are known there, El Tuerto may well have been Tungee. From this pueblo Oñate went 2 leagues to the first pueblo (Paako) behind the sierra (Sandias), "the last of Puaray" (meaning people of Puaray or Tiwa-speakers). Thus the *Tiwa-speaking pueblos did not extend south of Paako on the east side of the Sandias, in which direction Oñate was traveling*. If Paako was a Tiwa pueblo, then the eleven pueblos south of it (referred to by the Rodríguez-Chamuscado expedition as a group that spoke a language different from what appears to be this same pueblo) were non-Tiwas.

On the 10th Oñate covered 5 leagues and reached the first pueblo of the salines (Chililí) below the last pueblo of Puaray. On the following day he went another 5 leagues to

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11. Albert H. Schroeder and Dan S. Matson, *Castaño de Sosa's Entry into New Mexico, 1590-1591* (in press).



the last of the pueblos of the salines (passing through Tajique and arriving at Quarai) where he remained for three days. He then went 3 leagues to Abó on the 15th, and on the 16th marched 4 leagues to the one large and two smaller pueblos of Humanas (4 leagues would have taken him to Gran Quivira, but not to the other two pueblos, especially Tabirá). After receiving the obedience of Cueloze, called the town of the Rayados (present Gran Quivira), Oñate went 1½ leagues on the 17th to the second pueblo of Abó (possibly the second of the two visited by Espejo in 1583). On the 18th he returned to the last pueblo of the salines (Quarai) and then to the first pueblo of the same group. Thus Oñate specifically mentioned seven pueblos below the "last of Puaray" in the region where eleven pueblos previously had been reported by two other expeditions. In passing from the first to the last pueblo of the salines, he did not specify the number of pueblos seen in between. These would have included Tajique, LA 371, and LA 372, which would bring the total of pueblos probably seen to 10. The eleventh probably was Tenabó, which he did not see.

From the first pueblo of the salines (Chililí), Oñate returned to the Rio Grande via a pueblo called Portezuelo (probably LA 24), east of Albuquerque on the east end of Tijeras Canyon. This probably was a Tiwa pueblo since Chililí to the southeast was referred to as the first pueblo of the salines the day before coming to Portezuelo from Chililí. Another 7 leagues of travel brought Oñate to the pueblo on the Rio Grande to which Father Claros had been assigned and from which Oñate went on to Acoma.<sup>12</sup> Father

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12. George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, *Don Juan de Oñate, Colonizer of New Mexico, 1595-1628*. Coronado Cuarto Centennial Publications, 5-6 (Albuquerque, 1953), pp. 324, 353, 393-94. Bandelier suggested that the people of Paako were Tano-speakers (southern Tewas) on the basis of statements of informants of Tanoan descent at Santo Domingo about 200 years after Paako was abandoned. Bandelier agreed because a high ridge separates Paako from Chililí to the south and because Paako was close to the supposedly Tano (southern Tewa) villages near Golden. See his *Final Report*, p. 114. Oñate's contemporary statement is far more reliable.

Claros' pueblo was the Tiwa pueblo of Isleta.<sup>13</sup> *Thus the Tiwa area did not extend east of Tijeras Canyon.*

The assignments of the friars in 1598 also separate the Tiwas from the pueblos east of the Manzano Mountains. Among the pueblos assigned to Fray Francisco de Miguel were Pecos, the seven pueblos of the cienega to the east (Galisteo Basin), the pueblos of the great saline back of the Sierra de Puaray, plus another 17 unidentified pueblos, and the three large pueblos of the Humanas or Rayados "called in their Atziqui [Piro] language, Genobey, Quello-tezei [Gran Quivira], and Pataotzei. . . ." <sup>14</sup> Thus the Humanas were placed in the same language group as the Piros of the Rio Grande.

That Atziqui or Tziqui referred to the Piro people and language and should not be confused with the Tiwas, there can be no doubt. Oñate reported to the viceroy that he had inspected "the province of the Tziquis [Piros], which one passes on the way from New Spain [up the Rio Grande]; the province of the Xumanas; the province of the Chiguas [Tiwas], which we Spaniards call Puaray; the province of the Cheres [Keres] . . . the province of Abbó and the Salines [including both in the same province]; the province of Tzuni;" etc.<sup>15</sup> It is also to be noted in the above quotation that Espejo's province of Magrias with eleven pueblos is treated as two by Oñate, wherein he separates the three Humanas pueblos from the other group consisting of the pueblos of Abó and the Salines.

Fray Juan Claros was assigned to the "Chiguas, or Tiguas [Tiwas]" as well as "the province of Atzigues [Piros] down the river,"<sup>16</sup> thus separating the Piros on the river from those east of the Rio Grande who were assigned to Father Francisco de Miguel.

Fray Alonso de Benavides also made a distinction be-

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13. Hodge, Hammond, and Rey, *Benavides' Revised Memorial*, p. 256.

14. Hammond and Rey, *Don Juan de Oñate*, p. 345.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 483.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 346.

tween the Piros and Tiwas. He referred to them respectively as Tihues and Tioas. Hodge, believing these were two variations in the spelling of Tiwas, thought Benavides was confused in representing them as two separate groups. Actually, Benavides' Tihues and Tioas correspond to Oñate's Tziguis and Chiguas (or Tiguas).<sup>17</sup>

Benavides, after describing the Keres on the Rio Grande, turned his attention to another group that he called Tompiras. He wrote:

Leaving the Rio del Norte [Rio Grande] on the left [looking to the north] and drawing away from the above-mentioned nation [Keres] ten leagues toward the east, the Tompira nation begins. Its first pueblo is Chilili. It extends [south] for more than fifteen leagues through those regions, through fourteen or fifteen pueblos. . . . Among the pueblos of this nation is a large one which . . . is called Xumanas, because this nation often comes there to trade and barter.<sup>18</sup>

Thus Benavides, like Oñate, points to Chililí as the northernmost pueblo of a language group distinct from either the Tiwas or Piros. He also mentions four more pueblos than did Espejo in 1583 and the Rodríguez-Chamuscado expedition in 1582. It is quite possible that four more pueblos had sprung up in the intervening 40 years, though current archaeological surveys have not yet identified them. While Oñate had combined the pueblos of Abó and those of the salines into one province and had placed the Humanas in a province of their own, Benavides seems to have put them all into one language group, the Tompiro, though he never mentioned Abó specifically.

Father Estevan de Perea, who followed Benavides as custodian, brought a number of new friars to New Mexico. They were assigned "among the great pueblo of the Humanas, and among those called Piros and Tompiros. . . ."<sup>19</sup>

17. *Ibid.*, pp. 346, 348. Hodge, Hammond, and Rey, *Benavides' Revised Memorial*, p. 241.

18. Hodge, Hammond and Rey, *Benavides' Revised Memorial*, pp. 65-66.

19. *Ibid.*, pp. 211-212.

Thus Perea also separated the Piros from the Tompiros east of the Rio Grande. The friars he listed were assigned as follows: two to the Piros on the Rio Grande, one to Humanas (Francisco Letrado), one to Abó (Francisco de Acevedo), one to Quarai (Estevan de Perea), one to Santa Fe (plus two whom I cannot place). Thus, aside from these last three, the friars were placed among the Piros and Tompiros, *including specifically the pueblos of Quarai and Tajique* as stated by Perea himself.

Scholes pointed out some years ago that the people of Abó apparently spoke the same language as those of Humanas,<sup>20</sup> according to documents of the middle 1600's. Vetancurt, who wrote shortly after these pueblos east of the mountains were abandoned, stated that Chililí was converted by and that its church was constructed by Fray Alonso Peinado. "The Piros nation had more than 1500 Christians who were converted by Fray Alonso Peinado, whose body is interred there [at Chililí]."<sup>21</sup> Aside from a short period of duty at the Tewa pueblo of San Ildefonso in 1612, Peinado spent the remainder of his life at Chililí,<sup>22</sup> and thus the term Piros in the above quotation must refer to Chililí and its neighboring pueblos which normally were referred to as Tompiros in the early 1600's.

Vetancurt's reference to Quarai in the 1690's represents what seems to be the beginning of the confusion relating to the language spoken at these pueblos after they were abandoned in the 1670's. "It [Quarai] had 600 Christians of the Tigua nation who spoke the language of the Piros."<sup>23</sup> By 1778 Father Silvestre Vélez de Escalante, who had been examining archival material, wrote that the Apaches had destroyed a number of pueblos, "seven [sic] in the valley of the Salinas, which were Chilili, Tanque [Tajique], and Cuarac of the Tihuas Indians, Abó, Jumanas, and Tabira of

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20. Scholes and Mera, "Jumano Problem," p. 283.

21. Bandelier, *Final Report*, p. 256 (notes 34).

22. Hodge, Hammond, and Rey, *Benavides' Revised Memorial*, p. 265.

23. Bandelier, *Final Report*, p. 264 (note 1).

the Tompiros.”<sup>24</sup> Had he written the name “Tihues,” as had Benavides, we could have assumed Piro was meant. Thus, within 100 years after abandonment, the northern group of pueblos of the salines had their language changed from Piro to Tiwa, perhaps on the slip of the pen in writing an ‘a’ for an ‘e’. Thus the pen seems to have been mightier than the word in this case.

The distribution of the Tompiro language on the east side of the Manzano Mountains correlates with the distribution of Chupadero Black-on-white pottery, a type that was manufactured between A.D. 1150 and 1700. This type originally had a greater range to the east and south than the Tompiro language and pueblos of early historic times.<sup>25</sup> This difference is easily accounted for since the Indians who made this pottery and who lived near the mountains and also farther to the east and south in prehistoric times, concentrated closer to the mountains around A.D. 1300 and constructed the large pueblos which survived into historic times. These latter pueblos coincide with the distribution of the Tompiro language in historic times, and this coincidence in range suggests that all of the culturally related Indians who made Chupadero Black-on-white pottery over a larger area in prehistoric times also were Tompiro-speakers.

Of interest too is the occurrence of Casa Colorado Black-on-white, a pottery type closely related to Chupadero Black-on-white, that is found on late prehistoric sites along the Rio Grande in the area of the historic Piro-speakers.<sup>26</sup> Thus the two closely related pottery types in the Piro and Tompiro areas indicate as close a relationship in culture as do the language dialects that have been discussed.

The reason for the confusion on the language spoken in the saline area is due primarily to the fact that the Indians

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24. *Ibid.*, p. 257 (note 1).

25. H. P. Mera, *Ceramic Clues to the Prehistory of North Central New Mexico*. Laboratory of Anthropology Technical Series Bulletin 8 (Ann Arbor, 1935), pp. 36-37, map 4.

26. *Ibid.*, map 4.

who abandoned the region in the 1670's and those who left the Piro area in 1680 both spoke dialects of the same language stock that includes Tiwa. The Tanoan stock contains three languages—Tiwa, Tewa, and Towa. There are, according to Harrington, two dialects of Towa (Pecos and Jemez), only one Tewa language, and three Tiwa dialects (Taos-Picurís or northern Tiwa, Sandia-Isleta or southern Tiwa, and Piro).<sup>27</sup> He makes no reference to Tompiro which was a dialect distinguished from that of the Piro according to the documents.

The dialects thus help to explain Vetancurt's statement that the people of Quarai were of the Tiwa nation and spoke the Piro language. However, the documents and the ceramics indicate that the people of the saline area were more closely related culturally and linguistically to the Piro on the Rio Grande than to their other dialectic relatives, the southern Tiwas.

#### SUMMARY

Coronado's chroniclers referred to the Indians east of the Sandias as being to the east of the Tiwas, and Castañeda specifically listed these pueblos as separate from those of the Tiwas. The Rodríguez-Chamuscado expedition indicated that the pueblos east of the mountains and south of the Paako area spoke a different language. Espejo separated the pueblos east of the Manzano Mountains from the Piro-speakers on the Rio Grande. Oñate described the pueblos of the Salines as being separate from the Tiwa-speakers of Paako and also stated that the Humanas spoke the language of the Piro.

Oñate reported that the pueblos of Abó and the salines (total of 8?) were one province separate from that of the Humanas (total of 3). These eleven pueblos are those that the journals of the Rodríguez-Chamuscado and the Espejo expeditions set off as one province and were those referred

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27. J. P. Harrington, "An Introductory Paper on the Tiwa language, Dialect of Taos, New Mexico." *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 12 (Lancaster, 1910), pp. 12-13.

to by Benavides as one nation and as one linguistic group. Perea indicates the same. During the middle 1600's the people of Abó were reported to speak the same language as the Humanas. In the 1600's the only language groups mentioned in relation to these pueblos east of the Manzanos were Atzigui [Piro], Tihue [Piro], Piro, or Tompiro, but never Tiwa. All the evidence of contemporary documents indicates that all of the people of the pueblos east of the Manzano Mountains spoke a variation of the Piro tongue called Tompiro.

## Notes and Documents

### MISS ELEANOR B. ADAMS

The responsibility for editing the *New Mexico Historical Review* will be transferred to Miss Eleanor B. Adams, Research Associate in History, The University of New Mexico, on July 1, of this year. However, the outgoing Editor will assume responsibility for the July issue of the *Review*.

Miss Adams will not be a stranger to readers of the *Review*, but they might like to know more about her career. She is a graduate of Radcliffe College. Subsequently, a summer was spent at the University of Liverpool and one year at the University of Madrid and the Centro de Estudios Históricos. Miss Adams was employed as an Investigator, Division of Historical Research, by the Carnegie Institution, Washington, D.C., for fifteen years, and later on served in the Division of Manuscripts at the Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California.

Miss Adams is a Phi Beta Kappa and a corresponding member of the Academy of American Franciscan History. She has published books, and also articles elsewhere than in the *New Mexico Historical Review*. Her main interest at the moment is an intensive treatment of the history of New Mexico from 1692 to 1821.

For those who might have forgotten, The University of New Mexico now has sole responsibility for the *Review*. A Board of Advisors has been selected from the Department of History to whom the Editor can run for sympathy when perplexed with the problems of the editorship. However, they are not really grievous ones and I suspect that Miss Adams will have minimum need of advice.

F.D.R.



## NEW MEXICO HALL OF FAME

By GEORGE MASON\*

The population of New Mexico's Hall of Fame, which immortalizes those who have made towering contributions to the state's rich history, will be increased to eight in October, 1964, as three new honorees are installed during the annual ceremonies at Las Cruces.

Selected by the unanimous vote of the Historical Society of New Mexico's board of directors at a meeting in Santa Fe on April 18 were:

1. Don Juan de Oñate, who founded New Mexico under a contract approved by the Viceroy of New Spain on September 21, 1595, to represent the Spanish period of New Mexico's history.

2. Christopher (Kit) Carson, whose exploits in the 19th Century as a scout, mountain man and military leader made him an American legend, to represent the Territorial period.

3. William A. Keleher<sup>1</sup> of Albuquerque, journalist, lawyer and historian, a living honoree to represent the period since New Mexico's achievement of statehood in 1912.

Each of the state's local historical societies submitted their nominees for the three periods to the state organization for a final determination. The high calibre of the nominees convinced the state board that the number of potential honorees provides a wealth of Hall of Fame prospects for the next generation at least.

Dr. Victor Westphall, the dedicated and able president of the state society, extended an invitation to the Doña Ana County Historical Society to conduct the 1964 Hall of Fame program. He called a meeting on April 11, 1964, at Las

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\* Albuquerque, New Mexico. Chairman, State Hall of Fame Committee.

1. Author of *Maxwell Land Grant: A New Mexico Item*, *The Fabulous Frontier: 12 New New Mexico Items*, *Turmoil in New Mexico: 1846-1863*, and *Violence in Lincoln County, 1869-1881: a New Mexico Item*.

Cruces, to discuss the invitation. It was accepted with enthusiasm by the Doña Ana society and plans have been moving forward ever since for a dinner program to be held at New Mexico State University in Las Cruces on Saturday evening, October 17, 1964.

Working closely with the State Hall of Fame Committee are those who will execute the 1964 Hall of Fame program, including Adlai Feather,<sup>2</sup> Chairman; Colonel R. E. Cruze, Mrs. Sam Shomer, Mrs. Joe Priestley, General Hugh M. Milton, Dr. Roger Corbett and Mrs. Jack Bowen. Another active supporter is Louis E. Freudenthal of Las Cruces, president of the Doña Ana society.

By appointment of Dr. Westphall, the author of this item serves as Chairman of the State 1964 Hall of Fame Committee. Other committee members are Mrs. Patrick J. Hurley, vice chairman; Mrs. Sally Riederer, George W. McKim, William Wedgewood Stanhope and Wilson P. Hurley.

It is an interesting commentary that the late General Patrick Jay Hurley, one of the 1963 Hall of Fame honorees, is linked to the 1964 plans with his widow and son serving as members of this year's state committee. Wilson Hurley executed the brilliant portrait of his father that is now one of the Hall of Fame's art treasures. This year he will be concerned with the selection of artists who will render portraits of Oñate, Carson and Keleher.

The three 1964 honorees will take their places in the Hall of Fame already occupied by Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, Stephen Watts Kearny, General Hurley, Dennis Chavez and Clinton Presba Anderson, who were installed at a distinguished ceremonial dinner in Albuquerque on June 22, 1963.

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2. Mesilla Park, New Mexico. Author of "Origin of the Name Arizona," *New Mexico Historical Review*, April, 1964.

## Book Reviews

*Mansfield on the Condition of Western Forts 1853-54.* By Joseph K. F. Mansfield. Edited by Robert W. Frazer. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963. Pp. xxxi, 254, Illus., bibliog., index. \$4.95.

Except for the "Outline Descriptions" of military posts issued by the Inspector General's Department, and the reports on the hygiene of the United States Army, with descriptions of military posts, published by the Surgeon General's Office, there is scarcely anything in print or out-of-print that provides full information on army forts, posts and stations. The historian of the West, or for that matter any part of the United States, has to dig for the basic information on military establishments, and the digging is both difficult and unrewarding for the most part. A few of the major forts have been pinned down in pamphlets or books; others are written about in historical journals, and too many have been the subject of historical day-dreams in Sunday supplements.

It is, therefore, a special pleasure and relief to find Colonel Joseph Mansfield's reports covering the Department of New Mexico in 1853 and the Department of the Pacific in 1854 in print, well edited, and published with the usual distinction associated with the University of Oklahoma Press. Attached to the Inspector General's Department, Mansfield was engaged in a series of inspection tours from 1853 to 1861, tours that covered installations on the Pacific Coast, southeast to Texas, and in Utah. At least one (Texas, 1856) of Mansfield's reports has been published, in the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*. This book includes the first two such tours and reports.

Mansfield's reports are source material, period pieces, not very exciting to read unless one is in search of a fact, a name, a vignette in time and place. This is not to say that the reports are useful only for the years in question. Time

marched more slowly in 1853 and 1854, and the general condition of military affairs in the areas covered was much the same until the Civil War, and had been much the same for at least four years prior to the reports. The general military picture here afforded held true, then, for about a decade.

To clothe the official reports in historical raiment, the editor has written a careful introduction, an "estimate of the situation," in which the military policy of the United States is described for the West in general and the West Coast in particular. The purpose of the forts thus becomes apparent. In addition, the editor has added footnote information about the subsequent history of each establishment. In his contributions, the editor has had the advantage of hindsight, but does not take undue liberties with it.

Military inspection reports are, of course, notoriously uncritical. The fact that an inspection was imminent undoubtedly led to much spit and polish at each post, repair of equipment, drill, hiding of refuse, bursts of sobriety. Nor was an inspector likely to be over-critical of his fellow officers, among whom were old friends, West Point classmates, and comrades-in-arms. To that extent, the "Condition of Western Forts" falls short of veracity.

Plans of each fort accompanying the original report are well reproduced in one section. A complete index and a list of military personnel add to the value of the book as source material. One may hope that the sale of the title will be encouraging enough to warrant publication of additional reports of this nature.

University of Oregon

MARTIN SCHMITT

*The Matador Land and Cattle Company.* By W. M. Pearce. Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1964. Pp. xiv, 244. Illust., bibliog., appendixes, index. \$5.95.

In the 1870's and early 1880's, the fantastic profits realized from cattle on free grass brought an influx of foreign

capital to the American livestock industry. Much of the money came from the British isles and among the combines formed to exploit the beef bonanza was the Matador Land and Cattle Company, Ltd. of Dundee, Scotland. For sixty years—from 1882 through 1951—the Scotch directors exercised tight control over their American venture and, for that reason, the company's records are particularly complete. These records—the Matador Papers—have been assembled in the Southwest Collection at Texas Technological College and Dr. William M. Pearce has used them as a principal source in writing a history of the operation.

*The Matador Land and Cattle Company* is a business history; it contains few references to the sort of happenings that made the Wild West wild. Ranching is a way of life as well as a business and it is impossible to separate the two but Dr. Pearce has centered his attention on the policies and decisions made by the directors in Dundee and implemented by a succession of managers in America. In this way, he tells a fascinating story, tracing the development of the Matador into a cattle empire that reached from Texas into Canada. The writing is clear and factual and the skillful use of well-selected excerpts taken from correspondence, annual reports and board meeting minutes aids in presenting an authentic picture of managerial and directoral reactions to such problems as financing, land acquisition, weather hazards, fluctuating cattle markets, the formation of livestock associations, and the industry's continuing battles with the Beef Ring and the railroads.

The use of excerpts provides other dividends. The images of Alexander Mackay, who began as the company's secretary and became chairman of the board, and of Murdo Mackenzie, greatest of the Matador's managers, come through clearly. Also of special value are the selections taken from surveys made in Texas, Kansas, South Dakota, Wyoming, Montana and Canada. These not only tell what a cowman looked for in

selecting new ranges, they also give a vivid picture of the West that was.

Dr. Pearce set himself a formidable task when he undertook to compress sixty years of the matador's operations into two hundred and forty-four pages. Of necessity, some details are omitted from the study and the informed reader will note their absence. As an example, the author does not mention that Texas reserved her public lands when she joined the Union and as a consequence, the acquisition of land in that state differed in detail from the methods used in acquiring Federal lands. This is not relatively important nor is it particularly important that, at times, some confusion exists in identifying personnel. No less than six Mackenzies are mentioned, there are three Robinsons, a number of Smiths and as not all of these are labeled consistently it is sometimes necessary to pause and sort them out.

These criticisms are minor. *The Matador Land and Cattle Company* is an excellent book, well written, well researched and documented, and with a number of fine and authentic photographs to add to its worth. Certainly it deserves a place on the Western shelf or any library, public or private.

Bennett Foster

Albuquerque, N.M.

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VOL. XXXIX

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No. 4

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CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
The Rustler War	
Philip J. Rasch . . . . .	257
William Carr Lane, Diary ( <i>concluded</i> )	
Wm. G. B. Carson, <i>editor</i> . . . . .	274
Holm O. Bursum, Sheriff 1894	
Donald R. Moorman . . . . .	333
Erna Mary Fergusson, 1888-1964	
W. A. Keleher . . . . .	345
William Jackson Parish, 1907-1964	
Katherine Simons . . . . .	351
Historical Society of New Mexico	
News Notes . . . . .	354
Index . . . . .	357

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## THE RUSTLER WAR

By PHILIP J. RASCH\*

The destruction in 1880 of the gang of cattle and horse thieves led by the notorious Lincoln County rustlers and murderers, Jessie J. Evans,<sup>1</sup> and Billy the Kid<sup>2</sup> did not automatically restore peace and quiet to the stockmen of New Mexico. In spite of the publicity these outlaws received, they were relatively small time operators whose destruction was comparatively easily encompassed once a few determined citizens set their minds to it. The banditti led by John Kinney,<sup>3</sup> however, were another kettle of fish. Today their very names are all but forgotten, but in their prime they were so formidable that it became necessary for the Territory to mobilize its militia and to conduct a veritable war against them. Compared with their operations, those of Evans and of the Kid appear relatively unimportant.<sup>4</sup>

As early as December, 1881, Lieutenant Colonel George A. Forsyth, Fourth Cavalry, commanding Fort Cummings,

\* The writer is indebted to Miss Ruth Rambo, Librarian, Museum of New Mexico; Dr. Myra Ellen Jenkins, Senior Archivist, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, and Mrs. India S. Moore, Historical Secretary, Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society, for their assistance in collecting the data for this paper.

1. Rasch, Philip J., "The Story of Jessie J. Evans," *Panhandle-Plains Historical Review*, 33:108-121 (1960); "The Mystery of George Davis," *English Westerners Brand Book*, 4:2-5, (July, 1962).

2. Rasch, Philip J., "Keys to the Puzzle of Billy the Kid," *English Westerners Brand Book*, 4:n.p. (December, 1957-January, 1958), and "And One Word More," *Chicago Westerners Brand Book*, 18:41-42 (August, 1961).

3. Rasch, Philip J., "John Kinney—King of the Rustlers," *English Westerners Brand Book*, 4:10-12 (October, 1961).

4. Biographical accounts and physical descriptions of some of the principal rustlers are given in the *Santa Fe Daily New Mexican*, March 10, 1883.

notified General Ranald S. MacKenzie, Fourth Cavalry, commanding the District of New Mexico, that the country around Lake Valley, a settlement about 45 miles east of Silver City, was infested by cattle thieves, and suggested that he cut them off and capture them. The general replied that the law did not permit this use of troops, but he forwarded the information on to Governor Lionel A. Sheldon. The latter in turn wired Colonel William L. Rynerson, commander of the militia battalion at Las Cruces, to furnish militia<sup>5</sup> if called upon to do so by the sheriff of Doña Ana County, and made a trip to southern New Mexico to investigate the situation personally.

The first engagement of what was to become known in the contemporary newspapers as the Rustler War occurred the following spring, when a party of brigands descended on R. Mason's ranch, twenty-five miles west of Mesilla, locked up the family, stripped the house, including the very clothing and bedding, and drove off the horses and cattle<sup>6</sup> in the direction of Uva Springs, about nine miles west of Colorado. In all, the loot amounted to over \$2,000. Infuriated by this brazen robbery, Governor Sheldon issued General Order No. 14, instructing the Militia to furnish military assistance to county and city officials when requested to do so, to suppress all mob violence, and to vigorously pursue rustlers and other desperadoes.<sup>7</sup>

Sheriff Bull had already formally requested help from Captain Albert J. Fountain, 1st Regiment, New Mexico Volunteer Militia, who ordered several squads into action. Captain Eugene Van Patten and his Las Cruces Rifles, with Deputy Sheriff George Lynch, proceeded north to Rincón and thence southwest via Colorado, Sellers Station, which also had been stripped by thieves, and Nutt Station, in an

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5. The militia was originally organized by Governor Lew Wallace under a law passed in 1880. Rynerson was its first colonel. Fountain and Van Patten rendered its first service when they campaigned under Colonel Buell's command against Victorio. Rynerson resigned in March, 1882, and was succeeded by Colonel Richard Hudson. *Santa Fe Daily New Mexican*, February 25, 1883.

6. *Santa Fe Daily New Mexican*, May 30, 1882.

7. *Ibid.*, June 9, 1882.

effort to close escape routes in those directions. Men under Corporal Pedro Ouopa overtook three of the banditti near Fort Fillmore, in the vicinity of El Paso. They captured Pedro Armiento and recovered twenty-six head of cattle; but Santiago Cooper and one Alderetta, both of Ysleta, located on the Rio Grande about 15 miles below El Paso, escaped into Texas. Lieutenant Charles F. Bull and the Mesilla Scouts proceeded directly to Mason's ranch and pursued a party of the robbers into Old Mexico via Lake Palomas, Janos, and Ascension. The Mexican authorities thereupon objected to the presence of such a large party of armed foreigners on their territory, but General Reyes of Sonora took up the trail and was soon able to advise Bull that the fugitives had been placed beyond reach of further punishment.<sup>8</sup>

The lesson was sharp, but it had no lasting effect. By January, 1883, the area from just below Socorro to the south as far as Chihuahua, Mexico, including the settlements of Palomas, Colorado, Lake Valley, Leasburg, and Doña Ana, was being systematically cleaned out by the rustlers. They were supposed to number thirty to forty men, headed by John Kinney and working in cooperating bands of three to four. Headquarters were at Rincón, Lake Valley, and White Oaks, in Lincoln County. Cattle taken from a given vicinity by one party would be driven to another and turned over to a second group, who in turn might pass them on yet again. It was estimated that during the month of January alone not less than 10,000 head were stolen and driven into Mexico or Arizona.<sup>9</sup> Regular slaughter houses were established at Rincón and elsewhere and dressed beef by the carload was shipped to El Paso, Deming, Las Cruces, Socorro, and Albuquerque. Kinney was said to have shipped as many as 84 quarters of beef daily from his corral at Rincón to El Paso, where Charles Ray (Pony Deal, or Diehel) disposed of it to butchers and restaurant owners.

In near despair, sixty-six ranchers of Doña Ana County

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8. *Ibid.*, June 16, 1882.

9. *Ibid.*, February 11, 1883.

petitioned Governor Sheldon "to commission a number of men under competent authority, and for a period of about ninety days, to follow such thieves and to protect us and our property."<sup>10</sup> Nothing loath, on February 12 Sheldon ordered Major Fountain to take the field again. His instructions in effect gave that officer *carte blanche*:

. . . while it is the normal duty of militia to aid the civil authorities, there are occasions and public necessities when it is required to do more. The bands you are in pursuit of are in combinations and constitute armed marauders or banditti. They are armed against society, and their acts and crimes are numerous and are calculated to set at defiance all law and government. They must be treated not as individual criminals, but as foes of the public. While I wish them arrested, tried, convicted and punished by the courts, you must treat the case as the manifestation requires and as public security demands. As I have before written, I put great confidence in you and in your officers and men, and I assure you that it will be a case presenting extraordinary features which will cause me to treat your command or any member thereof otherwise than as you recommend.<sup>11</sup>

Almost as he wrote, J. W. Holmans, charged with theft of 50 head of cattle, and Jesús A. Padaca, charged with assault with intent to kill, were brought into Santa Fe and lodged in the penitentiary.<sup>12</sup>

Fountain, ambitious and something of a swashbuckler, had no intention of letting this golden opportunity for fame and glory slip away unused. He promptly ordered Company A, under Captain Van Patten, to scout north from Mesilla, and Company B, under Captain Francisco Salazar, to cover the area south of that point. But before the major could even render a progress report more trouble was encountered. On February 19 Francisco Chaves II appeared in Albuquerque complaining that rustlers had shot or ridden down a flock of

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10. *Official Reports of the Territory of New Mexico for the Years 1882 and 1883*, pp. 64-84. Report of Edward L. Bartlett, Adjutant General of the Territory of New Mexico, from March 1, 1882 to January 1, 1884. Santa Fe: New Mexican Printing Co., 1884.

11. *Santa Fe Daily New Mexican*, February 17, 1883.

12. *Ibid.*, February 16, 1883.

his sheep at Pajarito, about 20 miles to the southwest, fully 1,500 being lost.

Salazar, however, had already drawn first blood. On February 20 his men killed one of the Kinney gang, Eugenio Pedraza, and captured José Enriques, Margarito Sierra, and Severo Apodaca at La Mesa, about 15 miles below Las Cruces. "The death of Pendraza," commented the *Las Cruces Rio Grande Republican*, "will be a relief to every stock man in southern New Mexico, as he was a bold and expert thief."<sup>13</sup> Unfortunately, three others, Mauro Sains, Doroteo Sains, and Faustino López escaped under the cover of darkness, and Sierra was shortly ordered released on the grounds that there was insufficient evidence to justify holding him. Kinney saw the handwriting on the wall and disappeared from his usual haunts at Rincón. His (fifth?) wife, Juana Pruencia, and his brother, Mike, went to El Paso, drew out all the money he had on deposit there and also disappeared, presumably to join him.

Some of the territorial newspapers were already having misgivings about the whole matter. The Albuquerque *Morning Journal* suggested that calling out the militia did more harm than good, as easterners did not understand that it was actually simply part of the police force and were expressing fears that the whole territory was in danger of falling into the hands of the rustlers,<sup>14</sup> a plaint which was soon echoed by the Silver City *Southwest-Sentinel*. Nothing daunted, the Governor vowed that he would "make New Mexico safe for honest and industrious people, or depopulate the whole d--- Territory."<sup>15</sup> He ordered the Laguna Rifles to proceed to Alamocito, where it was hoped that they would come up with the rustlers who had destroyed Chaves' sheep, while a detachment of the Albuquerque Guards (Company F, 2nd Regiment, New Mexico Volunteer Militia) under Captain John Borradaile was to join them via Pajarito, Is-

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13. *Las Cruces Rio Grande Republican*, February 24, 1883.

14. *Albuquerque Morning Journal*, February 23, 1883.

15. *Ibid.*, February 24, 1883.

leta, and Laguna. The Guards covered 250 miles in six days and arrested two men, one Brown and John Fenstermenter, who were turned over to the sheriff at Los Lunas, twenty miles below Albuquerque, and arranged for the arrest of A. S. Stivers, then in Albuquerque. Fearing lynch law, the Los Lunas officer promptly released both of his prisoners on their own recognizance, and they lost no time in seeking shelter in Albuquerque.<sup>16</sup> Jubilantly, the Las Vegas *Daily Gazette* proclaimed, "One great fact has been established. The day for murderers, cut throats and rustlers in this territory is at an end."<sup>17</sup> Nevertheless, when Stivers had a hearing before Judge Joseph Bell the prosecution failed to prove that there was sufficient reason to believe he was implicated in the crime and he was discharged from custody.

Meanwhile Fountain relentlessly continued his progress towards achieving one or the other of the Governor's objectives. Juan Bernal, Esiquio Enriques, José Enriques, Lorenzo Maese, and others were brought in. On March 2 Fountain himself, with the assistance of Texas Rangers under Captain George W. Baylor, captured Doroteo Sains, reputed to be "the most notorious thief and outlaw in southern New Mexico,"<sup>18</sup> at Concordia, Texas. The next day they took in one Doralez, wanted for several murders, Octaviano Garcia, accused of robbery and murder, and another man, later released. The following morning Sains made a desperate leap from the train taking the militia and their prisoners to Las Cruces. Fountain and his son, Lieutenant Alberto Fountain, unhesitatingly sprang after him. By the time they picked themselves up, Sains was about a hundred yards into the brush, but a shot by the major brought him down. On the body Fountain found a diary in which the cattle thief recorded his rustling expeditions and kept accounts with the members of the gang, among whom was Sierra.

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16. *Ibid.*, February 25, 1883; February 27, 1883.

17. *Las Vegas Daily Gazette*, March 1, 1883.

18. *Santa Fe Daily New Mexican*, March 4, 1883. The *New Mexican* promised that Sains' diary would be published and "will make highly interesting reading." So far the writer has been unable to locate the promised account.



Salazar recaptured Sierra at La Mesa on March 6. Taken before Fountain and Justice of the Peace Martín Trujillo, he broke down completely and turned state's evidence. In exchange for a promise of immunity he named under oath the members of the gang as John Kinney, Doroteo Sains, Eugenio Pedraza, Juan Carbajal, José Angel Enriques, Theodoro Lucero, Aurollo Apodaca, Diego Garcia, Nestor Cubero, Mariano Cubero, Juan Bernal, Guadalupe León, José Garcia, Guadalupe Torres, Mauro Sains, Faustino López, --- Johnson, Pablo Gómez, Antonio Benevides, Daniel Terras, Anastacio López, Charles Ray, Joseph Hull, and José Enriques, and gave a detailed account of their nefarious deeds.<sup>19</sup>

Captain J. F. Black and his Shakespeare Guards had already captured Kinney's brother-in-law, Hull, and Jimmy Hughes, and were to have the honor of making the most important arrest of the entire campaign. Sheldon learned that Kinney himself was on the Gila and ordered Black to capture him at any hazard. On the morning of March 7 the rustler chieftain, his wife, and his brother were surrounded by the Shakespeare men at York's ranch, near Ash Springs. Taken completely by surprise, they offered only token resistance before surrendering. In their possession were 36 horses, mules, and cattle. The Santa Fe *New Mexican* termed this "pleasing information . . . the most satisfying intelligence the NEW MEXICAN has had the pleasure of announcing to the people of New Mexico for some time," and congratulated the governor upon the wisdom of the policy he had inaugurated.<sup>20</sup>

The prisoners were taken to Lordsburg and placed in a box car guarded by ten militiamen. Grave fears were held that a rescue might be undertaken, and Sheldon ordered they were to be shot on the first attempt at escape or rescue. Captain Black was instructed to hurry the party out of Lordsburg and turn it over to the sheriff of Doña Ana County, resisting everything but a writ from Judge Warren

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19. *Ibid.*, March 10, 1883.

20. *Ibid.*, March 8, 1883.

H. Bristol, of the Territorial Supreme Court. As it was, the Justice of Peace at Lordsburg ordered Juana and Mike released and might also have freed John if a sharp telegram from the executive had not stiffened his backbone. Fountain, Salazar, and twelve men immediately proceeded to Lordsburg and escorted the rustler to Las Cruces without incident, where he joined thirteen of his gang in the county juzgado.

The Governor sent the militia a congratulatory message, complimenting them on their work, reminding them that "Bad men add nothing to the common prosperity," and urging them to "Let no guilty man escape." Sheldon, Adjutant-General Edward L. Bartlett, and United States Marshal A. L. Morrison, Jr. hastened to Las Cruces, where they had an interview with Kinney and where Fountain presented the Governor with the revolver, belt, and knife he had taken from Sains. Kinney had the effrontery to offer Fountain \$1,500 to defend him, to which the major drily replied that he had already been retained on the other side. Rynerson too refused to accept the case, and Kinney finally retained William T. Thornton and John D. Bail.

Bob Reese and Tom Coyne, charged with stealing and butchering cattle, and Pancho Sains, Doroteo's cousin, were the next to be taken,<sup>21</sup> but these were mere preliminaries to what was to prove to be the most controversial action of the entire war. On the evening of March 21 Fountain, accompanied by Sierra and the entire battalion, with the exception of six men left to guard the jail at Mesilla, left Las Cruces on a special train for Kingston. In Fountain's possession were warrants for Peter "Topy" Johnson, Tom Cooper, alias Tom Kelley, a Lincoln County desperado, John Watts, Tom Grady, Charles Thomas, James Colville, Hank Brophy, William "Butch" Leland, alias Bill Bush, alias William Galliard, Nat Irwin, "Tex," and others, constituting the Lake Valley branch of the Kinney gang. At Nutt Station he was joined by Deputy Sheriff Arthur Jilson and four guides, one

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21. *Ibid.*, March 15, 1883.

of whom was the notorious gunman Jim Courtright, soon to be a fugitive from an indictment for murder in the infamous American Valley affair. Leland and Watts were captured at Lake Valley on a charge of cattle stealing, and warned that they would be shot if they attempted to escape. The command then pressed on to Daily's ranch, where they dismounted, unsaddled, and prepared coffee in the pre-dawn dark. The prisoners chose this as a propitious time to attempt to escape—or so it was later affirmed—and were promptly shot, just as Fountain had promised them.

Informed that the rustlers would make a stand at Kingston, the militia hurried on, but found their quarry had decided to flee instead. However, the trip was not wasted, as Colville, who kept a slaughter pen and butcher shop in that village, and Irwin were arrested. The former was said to have made a complete confession, implicating many of his fellows. While scouting the rustler haunts in the vicinity, Fountain received word that friends of Watts and Leland were creating disturbances in Lake Valley. Sergeant Leandro Garcia and a squad were sent to preserve order; learned a John Shannon was attempting to arouse the people to attack the militia; took him into custody, and shot him when he attempted to escape.

The main body pushed on to Hillsboro, where some men under First Sergeant Botella were left to pick up any rustlers who might appear, and thence to Lake Valley, arriving on the 24th. Johnson, Brophy, Cooper, Thomas, "Tex," and ten others were reported to have fled to Mexico. The militia attempted pursuit, but the exhausted condition of horses and men alike made their efforts unavailing. Tired to the bone, they returned to Las Cruces, where Fountain reported that the raid had "broken the backbone of the most dangerous if not the most extensive combination of thieves in the country."<sup>22</sup>

On April 6 the major issued an order disbanding the ex-

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22. Bartlett, in *Official Reports*. Fountain's report of this raid also appeared in the *Santa Fe Daily New Mexican*, March 27, 1883.

pedition, but the good work went merrily forward. Robert Keesee, De Haney, José Maria Vega, Nestor Cubero, Juan Bernal, Frank Emmons, Guadalupe Leon, José Garcia, Atanacio Rivera, Nestor Rivera, Juan Vega, and others were taken into custody. The applications of *la ley de fuga* at Daily's ranch and at Lake Valley, however, raised some doubts. Some of the rustlers' friends claimed that there were powder burns on Leland and Watts' faces and hair, indicating that they had been shot at close quarters. The *Silver City Southwest-Sentinel*, the *Lake Valley Herald*, and the *Kingston Tribune* intimated that the militia had used the occasion to get rid of personal enemies without fear of the consequences, and a whispering campaign hinted that Sains had been pushed off the train so that he could be shot. Nevertheless, by the end of the month the Grand Jury was fairly at work investigating the charges against the rustlers. By April 5 some 132 indictments had been returned, including 17 against Kinney alone, and more were being ground out daily. John was released on \$6,000 bail, but a few days later it was reported to Judge Bristol that he had approached two of the jurors, Abelario Moreno and one Barrio, and endeavored to ascertain their opinions regarding his case. The court held this constituted contempt and ordered him committed during the remainder of the term.

Kinney came to trial on April 12 before a thronged court, including the Governor. Fountain opened the case on the part of the Territory by stating that "The Territory desired the conviction of no man who was not proven to be guilty beyond all reasonable doubt." He asked for a fair and impartial consideration of the evidence and an honest verdict, and outlined the facts which the prosecution expected to prove. Since the defense contended that certain bills of sale had been taken from Kinney at the time of his arrest, the prosecution determined to select a test case on which this question could not possibly arise. In order to reach this case promptly the other causes against the defendant were nolle

one after the other, so that Kinney finally stood trial on a single count of larceny of cattle,<sup>23</sup> to which he pled "Not guilty." Thornton and Bail sought a change of venue to Grant County, alleging that the public mind was so inflamed that their client could not obtain a fair trial in Doña Ana County. Their appeal was denied by Judge Bristol, who held that conditions were no different elsewhere in the Territory, and avowed that he would stand between the defendant and any wrongful verdict brought in by the jury.

Victoriano Sanchez testified that about January 23 sixteen head of cattle were stolen from his ranch near Doña Ana and were afterwards recovered near Lake Valley. Sierra then took the stand and confessed that Kinney, Bernal, José Maria Vega, and the witness himself stole the animals and drove them to Kinney's corral at Rincón, where they were sold to Bob Keesee and driven to Lake Valley. Thornton cross-examined this witness for nearly two hours, but was unable to shake his story. Hull then testified that he saw the cattle in Kinney's corral, and that he and Emmons witnessed the bill of sale which Bernal gave to Keesee. The defense asked whether Kinney was present at the time, to which the witness answered that he had not been, but that he had seen him in Rincón earlier, after the train had gone south. At this point the prosecution rested.

The following day was largely taken up by efforts on the part of the defense to prove by the testimony of Rynerson and others that Kinney was in El Paso at the time of the alleged crime. Kinney, his wife, and Keesee were in court, but the defense put none of them on the stand. Fountain, Thornton, Bail, and District Attorney Simon B. Newcomb then spoke for an hour each. The prosecution contended that the defense had offered no evidence to substantiate their claim that Kinney was in El Paso at the time of the theft; the defense urged that they had in fact proved that he was there. It took the jury just eight minutes to return a verdict

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23. Cause No. 953, Doña Ana District Court.

of "Guilty." Thornton and Bail immediately moved for a new trial, but on April 21 the court overruled their motion and announced it was ready to pass sentence. When the defendant was asked if he had anything to say why sentence should not be passed upon him, he replied in an excited manner, "I have not had a fair trial." The court retorted that on the contrary he had been fairly tried and convicted, and that there could be no reasonable doubt of his guilt. He was then sentenced to pay a \$500 fine and to serve five years in the penitentiary.<sup>24</sup>

John J. Bell, editor of the Silver City *Southwest-Sentinel*, took violent exception to the judge's comment, as well as to the sentence. In a series of vituperative articles he contended that Kinney was "found guilty . . . against evidence, law and justice;"<sup>25</sup> that he "has been convicted and sentenced for a crime, which from the evidence he has never committed," and accused the Governor of "making drunken speeches on the streets of Las Cruces"<sup>26</sup> during the trial. The *Georgetown Courier* was hardly less vehement in its criticisms of the Governor and the major.

All of this had no apparent effect on the course of events. One after another the rustlers came to trial, were found guilty, and sentenced. If certain newspapers disapproved, this was offset by the pleasure it gave the stockmen. "A Ranchman's" comments on the strictures of the *Southwest-Sentinel* and the *Courier* are a case in point:

From what I read in those papers they are terribly worried about "poor Kinney" and his "pal," but I have failed to observe in any issue of those sheets, any sympathy for the poor ranchman, teamster or farmer for the many hundred head of stock stolen from them in the last ten years. . . . Now I, as an owner of stock, do not care who kills or arrests, so long as these thieves are convicted and sent to prison.<sup>27</sup>

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24. Las Cruces *Rio Grande Republican*, April 14, 1883; Santa Fe *Daily New Mexican*, April 24, 1883; Albuquerque *Weekly Review*, April 28, 1883.

25. Silver City *Southwest-Sentinel*, April 18, 1883.

26. Santa Fe *Daily New Mexican*, April 28, 1883.

27. Silver City *Enterprise*, May 4, 1883.

Meanwhile Fountain had demanded a Court of Inquiry to investigate his actions at Lake Valley. On April 16 Sheldon issued Special Orders convening the court and ordering it to assemble in Lake Valley to take testimony. However, the Grand Jury itself summoned Shannon's friends to appear before it and state what they knew of the charges of cruelty and murder made against the militia. The jurors fully investigated the three killings, in the process examining over thirty witnesses. In the end they flatly refused to bring in any indictments. Instead they issued a report thanking the governor for calling out the militia and urging that it be retained in the field for a few months longer, but recommended that a civil officer be in charge of the militia whenever they were required to make arrests. Sheldon thereupon dissolved the Court of Inquiry, on the grounds that since the Grand Jury had found no crime had been committed, any further investigation "would be a work of supererogation." This action did not meet with universal favor. The El Paso *Lone Star* grumbled that the governor had dismissed the board without even a reasonable excuse for his action.<sup>28</sup> Perhaps that official's reply was contained in his General Orders No. 18, in which he "warmly thanked and highly praised" Fountain, his officers, and his men, and commented that while it was proper to observe legal technicalities when dealing with law-abiding citizens, the protection of such citizens made it necessary to disregard such niceties when dealing with rascals.<sup>29</sup>

Certain of the rascals in question decided their chosen field lay elsewhere than in the Mesilla jail; Nestor Cubero, Emmons, and two prisoners not connected with the rustling activities dug themselves out and disappeared, unsuccessfully pursued by the militia.

It was, of course, necessary to recall Sergeant Botella and his men from Kingston to testify before the Grand Jury. They were hardly out of sight of that village before Brophy,

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28. El Paso *Lone Star*, April 25, 1883.

29. Santa Fe *Daily New Mexican*, April 28, 1883.

Cooper, who seems to have also been known as William Welch, Thomas, Johnson, Joe Asque (Askew), Joe Hubert, alias Roberts, Charlie Hall, "Tex," John W. Sullivan, Celso Morales, Esteven Morales, Faustino Lopez, Mauro Sains, and other indicted rustlers promptly reappeared, threatening honest citizens and carrying on in their old high-handed manner. By the first of June Governor Sheldon was again receiving complaints of their depredations and once again the militia were ordered into the saddle. This expedition proved a fiasco as a blow against the rustlers, but it was a productive source of charges and recriminations which were to embitter relations between the militia and the civil officers for a long time to come.

Members of Salazar's company left town in small groups, slipping in and around Kingston to picket the mountain passes to the south and west of that community. Fountain, with Van Patten's company and Deputy Sheriffs Dave Wood and H. C. Harring were to approach from the northeast. All squads were to close in on Kingston on the night of the 15th. The militia moved on schedule, but the deputy sheriffs, who had all the warrants, did not appear and no arrests could be made. The following morning Wood rode up, stating that he had arrested Johnson and Asque, but had released them on bond. He refused to make an attempt to arrest Cooper or "Tex," insisting they had left the country, although Fountain claimed to have positive information that they were at Kingston.

After a futile search for the Farmington gang, a party of eight outlaws who had lately immigrated from the northern part of the Territory, the militia returned to Las Cruces, over extremely rough ground in temperatures of 105°, with nothing but experience to show for their efforts. Perhaps their dispositions were improved by learning that in their absence John H. Riley, Secretary of the Doña Ana County Stock Association, had obtained a requisition for the



arrest in Chihuahua, Mexico, and extradition of Ray,<sup>30</sup> described by the *Las Cruces Rio Grande Republican* as presenting "as black a picture of an unhung villian as we can find in a year's search,"<sup>31</sup> and Van Patten had successfully taken him into custody.

In his official report to the Governor, Fountain charged Wood had warned Cooper and Asque of the presence of the militia and that Guadalupe Ascarate, Sheriff of Doña Ana County, had made no effort to arrest known rustlers. Ascarate retorted that he had not requested Fountain's aid; that Wood had in fact arrested Johnson and Asque and would doubtless have succeeded in arresting the rest of the outlaws if the militia had not been present.<sup>32</sup> Wood himself asserted that he did not have the necessary warrants, insinuating that they were kept out of his hands so that the militia could have the glory of making the arrests.<sup>33</sup> To the reader today the essential question would seem to be by what authority Wood set and accepted bonds for his prisoners, but apparently this point was never raised.

Seeing trouble for the militia afoot, the Silver City *Southwest-Sentinel* rushed to join the fray. In a series of articles it alleged that the campaign against the rustlers had cost the Territory between \$40,000 and \$50,000, that the militia was useless, that its raids were an outrage, and urged the Governor to disband it. In a dignified reply Sheldon denied the charges *in toto*, advised that the militia was no longer on active duty, but that it was being reorganized and enlarged, and would be "ready at any moment to protect the honest and industrious against hostile Indians and white thieves and murderers."<sup>34</sup>

The civil authorities failed to convict Johnson, and with-

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30. Rasch, Philip J., "The Resurrection of Pony Deal." Los Angeles *Branding Iron*, 40:n.p. (December, 1957).

31. *Las Cruces Rio Grande Republican*, June 30, 1883.

32. *Ibid.*, July 7, 1883.

33. *Silver City Southwest Sentinel*, August 29, 1883.

34. *Ibid.*, August 22, 1883.

in a few weeks it seemed almost as though the militia needed protection against his gang. In November about 14 shots were fired into the home of Captain Salazar by Mauro Sains, Faustino Lopez, Pablo Gomez, and Nestor Cubero, and efforts were made to kill Anisteo Cano and Agapito Domingues, members of his company. By then Bell had severed his connection with the *Southwest Sentinel*, and there is no way of knowing how he would have managed to blame these attacks on the militiamen themselves.

In spite of the big talk of Ascarate and Wood, private citizens finally wrought the destruction of the Johnson gang. In the spring of 1884, the Central New Mexico Stock Grower's Association employed Isaac Lyda (Lida) as a detective. Acting on information which he obtained, Sheriff Tom Murphy and a posse of fifty cattle men arrested Johnson, Jim E. Cravens (alias Johnson), Sullivan, John E. Weatherford, John Cravens (alias Johnson), John Dwyer, Fred Borman (Bowman, Bauman), Lem Ball, --- Brady, Emil Schwartz, Juan Garcia, Enriques Gonzales, Robert Wiley, Ed Bails, --- Mungers, "The Kid," Bascillo Chávez, --- Chávez, and a number of others. The cases came to trial before Judge Bristol in Hillsboro in November. Weatherford and Mungers, who were out on bail, were found to have skipped the country. During the trial there was a general jail break, in which Topy, the Cravens boys, Sullivan, and Dwyer escaped. All but Sullivan were soon recaptured, but the break so delayed proceedings that the outlaws did not come to trial again until April, 1885. Fountain came up to assist in the prosecution; one suspects he did so with a great deal of relish. Lyda's testimony was fatal to the thieves' defense; Johnson and the Craven brothers each drew five years in the territorial penitentiary. Here they joined their old friend Ray, who had received a similar sentence.

The proceedings against Celso Morales, Margarito Sierra, and Estevan Morales were dropped. Mauro Sains hid out in Mexico for a few years and then reappeared in Las Cruces as

a delegate to the Democratic county convention of 1888. Kinney was delivered to the penitentiary at Leavenworth, but his attorneys appealed his case to the Supreme Court of the Territory and obtained a rehearing. He was released in 1886 and his case was dropped in September of that same year. Juan Bernal and Eugenio Pedraza were each sentenced to five years in the penitentiary. The former failed to profit from experience; in 1889 he was again arrested on a charge of horse stealing. Ray and the Cravens brothers were pardoned by Governor Edmund G. Ross in 1887. There is a story that after Toppo Johnson was released he joined Black Jack Christian's gang and was eventually killed by a peace officer on Black Water, Arizona, in 1898.

Thus the Rustler War finally came to an end. Cattle stealing in New Mexico has never entirely ceased and probably never will. Even today the tourist may see reward posters for cattle thieves displayed on the ranch fences, but the day of the large bands so powerful that they can be repressed only by mobilizing the military power of the state is a thing of the past. It is odd that the "war" which broke the back of these gangsters and those who waged it are now all but forgotten.

## WILLIAM CARR LANE, DIARY

*Edited by* WM. G. B. CARSON

(*Concluded*)

*Wednesday 20.* Noon Camp. We took up our line of march at 3 $\frac{1}{2}$  a.m. & drove briskly some 20 miles. The road, with the exception of the Hills, is not bad; but I don't recollect to have ever crossed as steep hills with waggons. The River is nearly level with the Banks & the Water which rises thro' the Earth, in pools, near our encampment is strongly Saline. The day is fine, the night was splendidly Moonlit, & agreeably warm, but it is most disagreeably windy today. None of us know the road, & we are not sure whether we will reach Ft Conrad, at Val Verde, to night, or not. Mr. Otero will go ahead, the Ft. Resumed our March & encamped in an arroyo, where there was wood & water but little grass.

Whole distances today from 34 to 30 miles.

*Wednesday 21st.* Early start. Road infamous. The steepest kind of Hills in quick succession & sand alternately. Encamped for water &c, in sight of Fra Cristoval. Mules very much jaded. My Horse lame. The baggage Waggon was upset, with much damage to the bed & destruction to all Cover Bars. It is now a forlorn looking concern. Will discharge Morgan the driver at Ft. Conrad.

I neglected to note that we passed a pretty stream yesterday morning, of exceedingly clear & cold water. It was some 12 or 15 feet wide & had a cheerful aspect. It was called Pigeon River. Running water is so rare in this region, that it would be an unpardonable omission in a Traveller not to note the Rio de Paloma. It is the first running water, since we passed the Mimbres, & the 2d since leaving the Gila.

We have made from 21 to 25 miles today & are yet from 25 to 30 miles from Vale Verde.

Mr. Otero left our noon camp yesterday to go to Ft. Conrad last night. I sent Anselmo with him, & am now delighted that I did so, as I find we were all of us so disappointed in the distance. We expected to breakfast there today, whereas we will not reach there until tomorrow morning, & Frank thinks we will never get there. This day passed a perpendicular wall of sandstone. It looked like the wall of one side of a one Story House, standing after the other walls had fallen down.

Travelled until 10 o'clk before we could find a suitable place to encamp.

Distance since stopping say 15 or 16 Ms.

This has been the most fatiguing day of our whole journey, say 42 miles today.

*Friday 22d.* Made Ft. Conrad early. Stop'd at Capt. Steele's, the offr. in command. Parted company with our Waggon, which is placed under the command of José Maria. Jack, Cruzo & José Carson stay with the waggon.

Mem.

Mr. Otero's Bedding left in the waggon 2 Mexn. Blankets  
 2 Red d°  
 1 Black d°  
 1 pillow

Cached with his Skin lariat upon his Trunk, which contains 1 Lot of Books 1 Gourd beaker 1 pr. Holsters, 1 portfolio

I left, in the Waggon, 8 Blankets 2 Bear & 2 Buff skins, 2 sheets 1 pillow, Franks long coat & Mexican Blanket.

Slept at San Antonio at House of Don Estaneslado Montoya.<sup>95</sup> Distance from Camp, to Ft. Conrad, 15 miles, by estimate. From Ft. Conrad to San Antonio 15 ms. Total distance today 30 ms.

*Apr. 23.* Saw 3 Flocks of Sheep & Goats this morning, the first was in charge of 2 men & 1 dog, & numbered 600 & upwards. The 2d division were in charge of a merry little Boy,

<sup>95</sup>. Unidentified.

who sang as he followed his Herd of Ewes & goats, with their Lambs & kids; & such a Bleating of young ones & their dams, I never heard before, the flock numbering 700 & upwards. The 3d herd was very limited in numbers & was composed of large sheep, with the heaviest fleeces I have ever seen, in the Ter. They were attended by 1 man, who was engaged in spinning coarse yarns, by means of a stick. All the shepherds were armed with Bows & arrows. The sheep & lambs, had an unusual number of Black & party coloured individuals and the Lambs & Kids, were perpetually skipping & frisking about, most merrily, altho' I saw nothing to make them so merry.

*Saturday 23d April.* Made Sabinal & stopped at the House of Pedro Torrel,<sup>96</sup> 45 miles. Mules tired.

*Sunday 24.* Las Lunas. Drew sight check upon Messrs Messervy & Webb for J. J. Spieglebury<sup>97</sup> for \$100. \$60 of wh. were left in the hands of Mr. Sachs<sup>98</sup> for Chs. Oberman.<sup>99</sup>

*Sunday 24.* Halted at the House of Mr. Sachs, but removed myself, to the quarters of Capt Ewell.<sup>100</sup>

Distance this day 25 Ms.

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96. Torres. See fn. 27.

97. S. J. Spiegelberg. "Solomon Jacob . . . was the oldest of the Spiegelberg Brothers and the first to leave Germany. He crossed the Santa Fe Trail in an ox-train, and, joining the command of Colonel Doniphan, accompanied him to Chihuahua, Mexico; then returned with the regiment to Santa Fe, where he was appointed sutler, and where he established the wholesale and retail general merchandise business." Hester Jones, "The Spiegelbergs and Early Trade in Santa Fe," *El Palacio*, 38 :86 (April, 1935).

98. A German trader. [Cf. William J. Parish, *The German Jew and the Commercial Revolution in Territorial New Mexico, 1850-1900*. The University of New Mexico, Sixth Annual Research Lecture, May 1, 1959.]

99. Charles Overman, an Indian agent. Governor Calhoun appointed him Special Agent for the lower portion of the Territory. Calhoun to Lea, February 29, 1852. *The Official Correspondence of James S. Calhoun*, ed., Annie Heloise Abel (Washington, 1915), p. 488. Overman was dismissed on August 29, 1852, by the Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs. NMHR, 16 :221.

100. Richard Stoddert Ewell, grandson of Benjamin Stoddert, first Secretary of the Navy. A native Virginian and a graduate of West Point, class of 1840. Saw service in the War with Mexico, and was brevetted Captain "for gallantry and meritorious conduct." In 1849 was promoted to Captain. In 1861, he resigned to join forces of the Confederacy, and rose to the rank of Lieutenant General. Died, January 25, 1872. Heitman, *op. cit.*, p. 410.

Wrote to Mr. Otero, by Mr. Felix Chavis.<sup>101</sup> Wrote Letter of introduction, for Miss Cleveland to my daughter Ann, & ate Capers for the first time in my whole life at Capt Ewells Table.

Capt Ewell says wheat will produce from 25 to 50 Fanegas, for every one which may be sown. He has some Barley, for the first time, & it promises well. Mr. Chs. Oberman says, New Mex. is a better Wheat country, than Mri., but not so good a corn country. Mr. Beckwith confirms the statement of Capt Ewell.

Mr. Oberman says, the new [grain] lands brot. into Cultivation in Socoro county will amt. to 10 per cent. Capt E. is of the same opinion.

Mr. Beckwith cultivated a Farm, of 200 acres, in a Valley of the Sandia Mountains, for 3 years, without irrigation.

Capt Ewell says, stone coal (Bituminous) abounds West of Las Lunas, of a good quality. He believes the strata to be 3 or 4 feet thick.

In trimming grapes, in N. Mex. the vine stalks are never more than from 1 to 2 feet high; & from 1 to 3 eyes only, are left upon each branch. They are never trailed, or supported. I have seen, today, stumps of Vines, as thick as my thigh, with the sprouts, or runners, thus closely trimmed.

Ambrosia Abieta Isleta

1 Bot. of Grape Spt. 1852

Wm. D. Murphy, I of 100 Families who have associated to go to the ?<sup>102</sup> Rivers, at White Mountains, to settle, wants an agent.

*Monday 25.* Made Albuquerque, & stopped at Dr. Abadies.

Crossed the River, in a Govt. Ferry Boat, manned by unskillful Mexns. with the worst oars I ever saw.

101. Unidentified.

102. Apparently another instance of the inability of the copyist to decipher Lane's handwriting. Murphy is unidentified. [There was a site for irrigation at "Three Rivers" on the west side of the White Mountains. Cf. Dorothy Jensen Neal, *Captive Mountain Waters*. El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1961.]

*Tuesday 26.* Late start. Made Algodones, say 22 miles. Halted at Miera's. Señor Miera told me, that his Father cut two crops of Oats, off the same ground, in one year. In July, he explained. The first Crop, was a crop of Hay; the 2d was a crop of ripe oats, with full sized grains, from that which had been mowed for Hay.

*Wednesday, April 27.* Early start, reached Sta Fé early in the evening. Was met by a cavalcade of citizens.

#### Distances travelled

60 ms. From Ft. Webster to Mule Springs	
35       "   Mule Spring to Rio del norte	
36       Next day	
42       "   "	
15       "   " to Ft. Conrad	
188 From Ft. Webster to Ft. Conrad	188
60       "   Conrad to Sabinal	
45       "   Sabinal to Albuquerque, say	
75       "   Albuquerque to Sta Fé	
368	"   Ft. Webster to Sta Fé

1123 Whole distance travelled from 28th March until 28th April '53

*May 2. Monday.* Have remained in Sta Fé since 27 Ult. Mem. Silver Bullion.\*

*April 30.* Sent by Mr Foster of St Louis, to Mr Wm Glasgow Junr.<sup>103</sup> \$81. & some cents in weight in Silver Bullion, from the Organ Mountains, to make 1 doz Tumblers for Mrs Lane.

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\* Mem. Bullion recd by my Family.

103. 1813-1892. The husband of Lane's daughter Sarah. A prominent citizen of St. Louis, he was intensely interested in the cultivation of grapes and founded the American Wine Company which later, after he had severed his connection with it, made Cook's Imperial Champagne. Mr. Foster cannot be identified.



The price of Bullion, prepaid to me by Mr Hugh Stephenson of El paso, was of the Value of 22 dolls & some cents. In fact, this Bullion was of greater Value, than I have stated, as it weighed down that amt in Silver Coin, without having the alloy which is contained in the Coin.

Mr Sabino says, that 5 of copper are used to every oz of Silver, in making Silver ware; and that the Bullion sent, is amply sufficient to make a doz fine Tumblers.

When I was at Elpaso, I gave Mr Magoffin<sup>104</sup> \$100, in gold, to get 3 Rebosas, in Chihuahua, for me. 1 for Mrs Lane, 1 for Ann, & 1 for Sarah; & told him, to add to the sum, if necessary, to get suitable articles.

Mem. 2 Rebosas recd. 1 sd. to have been stolen.

*May 6, Friday.* Have remained in Sta Fé since 2d, busied with much official business.

*Sta Fé May 6th.* The Pueblo Indians of N. Mex. are civilized communities; each being governed by its own Laws, administered by its own officers; & all being subject to the authority of the Govr. of the Ter. of N. Mex. as supt Indn Affairs. There has been no interference with their Laws, which are merely their Ancient Customs, except when appeals were taken, from the decisions of the Pueblo Tribunals to the Tata. Gov. of the Ter.

A Muchacho of Pojuaque (Po-whawk-e), courted, a Muchacha of Nambé, a neighboring Pueblo, for 2 long years; at the end of which period the Friends of the Boy, according to established rule, went in a body & made a formal demand of the hand of the Girl, for the enamoured Swain. Consent was given, by her widowed Mother & they were married. These Indians are nominally Catholics, & the Muchacho and Muchacha, were married by a Priest, the Boy promising, as

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104. James Wiley Magoffin. Born in Harrodsburg, Kentucky, in 1799. For many years a Santa Fe trader, he married into a prominent Mexican family and made his home in Chihuahua. With Colonel Cooke he served as one of Kearny's emissaries to Governor Armijo to pave the way for a bloodless conquest of New Mexico in 1846. Keleher, *Turmoil*, p. 110, fn. 824.

a part of the marriage ceremony, to live with his mother-in-law, at Nambe. But the Honey-moon had not passed away, before the Boy was summoned, to return to his own Pueblo, with his Bride. He was at a loss how to act, but finally went home, without his Bride, who remained with her mother. Filial affection, was stronger than love for her husband, & she clung, like Ruth, to her Mother, and the Muchacho soon after returned, to the house of his Mother-in-law. The Govr. of Pojuaque, then demanded him of the Govr of Nambé; & according to their usages, which do not permit the expatriation of Males, except under certain circumstances, he was surrendered, & forcibly carried Home to Pojuaque. The mother-in-law then appealed to the Tata, & he ordered the authorities, to reconsider the case, & decide upon it again, & rehearing was had, & the former decision affirmed.

The disconsolate Mother-in-law, then made an earnest written appeal, to the Tata Govr of the Ter., & all the parties were summoned before the Govr & patiently heard. When the Boy, (as he was called, altho' he was some 24 years old) was asked whether he loved his Wife, & wished to live with her, he replied in the affirmative, but expressed a wish to reside at his own Pueblo, with his own relatives; and when the girl (some 15 years old) was asked the same question, she frigidly replied that she was now married, & must of course live with her Husband, but steadfastly refused to leave her Mother's House. The Mother urged the binding force of the promise, made by the Boy, at the Marriage, not to take her child away, & plead her Widowhood & helpless condition, having no Husband, no Son, & 3 other young daughters, with poverty staring them in the face. She was rather a pretty woman, of some 35 years of age, tall, slender & graceful with a remarkably pensive countenance. She was moreover eloquent, & spoke with her own language, & the Spanish, with remarkable fluency. The relations of the Boy, & the authorities of Pojuaque protested against the validity of the Marriage stipulation, of the Boy to [re]main at

Nambé, much of it having been made without the authority of his adopted Father, & against the laws of the Pueblo and that no conditions of the kind was made by the mother when she consented to the Marriage. The authorities of Nambé said that they had merely complied with the customs of the Pueblo in delivering up the boy to Pojuaque.

Much argumentation ensued, & the Tata or Father, of all the Pueblos was not a little perplexed, in making a judgment in the case. The laws of New Mex<sup>o</sup> allowed the Boy to go where he pleased; but the laws of his Pueblo denied him this privilege. The Boy had made a Marriage vow, which he now believed he had no right to make, & wished to break, & to take his wife away from her Mother. The girl acknowledged her obligations to her Husband, but was firm in her resolve, to remain with her Mother, even if it should part her from her Husband. Whereupon the Judge took up the Bible & gave a decision according to the Laws Hosaic [*sic.*] contained. He pointed to Genesis Chapter 2, verse 24 "Therefore shall a man leave his Father & his Mother, & shall cleave to his wife and they shall be one flesh." And to Deuteronomy chap 24 verse 5 "When a man hath taken a new wife, he shall not go out to war, neither shall he be charged with any business, but he shall be free at Home, for One Year. and shall cheer up his wife, which he hath taken," and decided, that the Boy shd. live at the House of his Mother-in-law at Nambe for One Year, & that a final decision of the case shd. be postponed, until the expiration of that time.

The Mother-in-law wept with joy; the young wife (who was remarkably good looking) maintained her attitude of indifference, the Husband expressed his willingness to abide the decision of the Judge & the people of Nambe manifested the highest satisfaction, but the people of Pojuaque murmured, & a Lot of Lawyers amongst them commenced a speech in opposition to the decision; whereupon the Father stamped his foot, & commanded that all should submit to his decision, in silence, which was done, without another word.

The Mother, the young wife the Husband, & the Men of Nambe, followed the Govr from the Indian office to his quarters, to embrace & thank him, for making so righteous a Judgment; & then went on their way to Nambe, rejoicing.

*18th June 53.* All parties interested in the judgment above mentioned perfectly contented to this date.<sup>105</sup>

*May 21.* Have remained in Sta Fé to this date, contending every day with "the world, the flesh & the Devil," & am by no means happy. I am not quite satisfied with myself.<sup>106</sup> I am perpetually under the influence of impulses, which cause me to say & do rash things, and I begin to fear that selfishness is so intense & overwhelming in this region, that I receive no disinterested counsel from Friends, & as for my Enemies they would exterminate me if they had the power. The task of a Reformer is a hard one.

*June 18 Saturday.* I have not been absent from Sta Fé since 21st May. Health good, mind easy. Weather warm to-day & ceased to have fires yesterday.

*July 12.* Have remained in Sta Fé since 18 Ult., & have had my worriments. Health good. My estimate of New Mexn

105. According to John Ward's journal, the Indians from the Pueblo of Nambe came on April 29 to get the backing of the Governor—in his capacity of Superintendent of Indian Affairs—in a dispute they were having with the authorities of Pojuaque "In relation to a marriage—the Gov. told them to go back to their Pueblo and obey the orders of their Gov. and head men, as he would not interfere with their customs or laws." On May 1 the Governor of Pojuaque came about the same quarrel. Again Lane refused to intervene. NMHR, 16:336-337. However, on May 6 his intervention was again requested and he consented to try to settle the matter.

106. The explanation for his discontent with himself is to be found in the Journal of John Ward, June 1. *Ibid.*, pp. 343-344. The Navahos had been guilty of a renewal of their depredations and murdered a Mexican, Don Ramon Martín. Lane demanded that they surrender the culprits, who were well-known to them, but they refused. In a conference with Sumner, he then gave way to a violent burst of temper and threatened the Indians with the most extreme penalties. Against these Sumner protested, but for the moment the Governor was not to be placated. It seemed to him that this incident negated his whole policy of peaceful dealings with the Indians and that he had lost his head. ". . . My intentions, when not under the dominion of angry feelings, are always kind, . . . & the highest enjoyments of my life spring from the consciousness of doing good to others, but, unfortunately, I am exceedingly sensitive and excitable; and when under the dominion of passion, I am blind, unjust, unsparing, and sometimes savage." Gov. Lane to Anne Lane, Washington, March 7, 1854. Archives, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

worth public & private, does not advance. Expect to be relieved, from offl duty, by 10 prox. & to leave, in the Stage, by way of Texas, on 17.

*Mem. July 21.* Have remained in Sta Fé since 12 Inst.

*July 23.* Paid Frank all the money which he had deposited in my hands, to be carried by himself—\$52. Marked a 50 doll gold piece, recd. from Messervy & Webb, & on both faces.

*July 23.* Ate well-flavored Rasberries, at Hunt's Fonda Table. They were of a Deep red, & too Sour perhaps indeed they were not ripe. They are said to grow on the Mountains, in which situations you find also Straberries, as I am assured by Don Manuel Alvarez.<sup>107</sup>

*July 31 Sunday.* Have remained in Sta Fé, since 21 Inst. Dispatched my accts, for this days mail, to Washn, for Quarter ending 30 June.

Expect the arrival of my Successor, this week.

Pueblo of Tesuque. José Maria admits that their antient Religious rites are still performed, at this pueblo.

Mr Conklin<sup>108</sup> says the same thing is true at Jemes. He says he has known an Indian to fast & abstain from drink, in an estufa, for 4 days, for rain. They perform this penance, to bring Rain, by relays, in the estufa.

107. A native of Spain, he spent most of his life in this country, and for several years served as Acting United States consul in Santa Fe. "In the spring of 1850 we find him at the head of the so called 'State Party' in company with Calhoun and others, opposed to the military party which had the support of the military governor, Colonel Munroe and such men as St. Vrain, Houghton, and Beaubien. Later in the year he was serving as lieutenant governor of the new territory, and he was an unsuccessful candidate for the position of territorial secretary." He became a successful trader. Lansing Bloom, "Ledgers of a Santa Fe Trader," NMHR, 21:135f (April, 1946). Although Bloom says that Alvarez never was naturalized, Number Five in the Benjamin Read collection, Historical Society of New Mexico, State Records Center and Archives, is the official admission to citizenship for Alvarez by virtue of action of the St. Louis Court of Common Pleas, April 9, 1842, signed by Joseph W. White clerk of said court. Dr. Myra Ellen Jenkins, letter to editor, State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe, November 15, 1963.

108. James Conklin, a resident of New Mexico since 1825, Keleher, *Turmoil*, p. 490, fn. 48.

*August 5.* Capt Graves,<sup>109</sup> Indn Agent — — law of Gen Merriwether<sup>110</sup> & Dr Jacobs<sup>111</sup> arrived in Sta Fé. Had evacuated my Quarters in the "Palacio," & gave immediate possession of them to Capt G.

I have not been absent from Sta Fé, since 31st Ult.

*Aug. 5.* Visited Señora Maria Guertrudes,<sup>112</sup> said to be from 105 to 110 years old. Her hearing is bad, her sight better, her appetite good, & health good. She lives with her youngest daughter, who appears to me to be about 40 years old, & no more but allowing her to be 45, & her Mother to have been 45 at the time of her birth, the old lady is now 90. And if we shd suppose the Daughter, (who has no gray Hairs), to be 50 at this time & her Mother to have borne her at the age of 45, the age of the Mother is no more at this time than 95.

Mexicans rarely know their own ages, or the ages of their children. The invariable ansr to inquiries on this head is, "quien sabe." Nor have they any accurate ideas of Distances.

*Aug. 7. Sunday.* Genl. Garland U.S.A.<sup>113</sup> arrived in Sta Fé.

109. E. A. Graves.

110. David Meriwether was born in Louisa County, Virginia, in 1800 and three years later moved with his parents to Jefferson County, Kentucky. He studied law and was admitted to the bar. He played an active part in the politics of his state and was appointed as a successor to Henry Clay as senator, serving from July 6 to August 31, 1852. In the same year he was appointed Governor of the Territory of New Mexico by President Pierce and served until January 5, 1855, after which he returned to Kentucky and played an active part in the politics of that state. He died in 1893. BDAC, p. 1322.

111. Possibly Agent Ed C. Jacobs, who was in charge of the Arivaipa Apaches before their removal to San Carlos in 1873. John P. Clum, "Es-kim-in-zin," NMHR, 3:407 (October, 1928).

112. The name was probably Gutiérrez.

113. In July, 1853, General John Garland was assigned to the command of the department and soon arrived with some 300 recruits to strengthen the military posts." Bender, "Frontier Defense," NMHR, 9:346. "In the summer of 1853 Colonel Sumner commenced preparation, at the request of Governor Lane, for a formidable campaign against the Navajos, but was relieved of his command by General Garland." Meriwether, who succeeded Lane, made a futile peace. Report of Superintendent James L. Collins, September 27, 1858. Keleher, *Turmoil*, p. 95.

Aug. 8. Gen. Merriwether arrived. Inaugurated same day.

Aug. 9. Declared myself a candidate for Congress.

Aug. 12. Wingfield arrived.

Aug. 13. Mr Beck<sup>114</sup> started home wrote by him to Mr G. & Willie. Wrote to Mrs Lane by Mayers<sup>115</sup> a few days ago. Sent by Mr Mayer's Train 4 Trunks & 3 Boxes. Wt, not known, am to pay 5 cts pr Freight. They are address to "Wm. Carr Lane, St Louis. Care of H. Von Phul."<sup>116</sup> Key sent in a Letter by Mayers.

Tuesday, 16 Aug. Paid my Bill in full at the Exchange  
39.50

(rct taken)

Set out upon an Electioneering Tour, accompanied by Mr Ellison as Interpreter.

Reached Algodones & halted at the Hs of Mr Miera.

Aug. 17. Reached Albuquerque at 11 a.m. & attended a public Meeting at wh I was nominated for Congress.

Aug. 16. Dined at Don Otero's<sup>117</sup> Slept at Rafael Luna's, where I met Judge Otero,<sup>118</sup> Sarcacena & others.

Aug. 19. Breakfasted at Captn Ewell's, where I saw a flock of Capons & ate a part of a delicious Musk-Melon, & of an indifferently good Water Melon. Set out for Sabinal, attended by Judge Otero & Mr Tuly. Halted at the House of

114. Ward, in his journal, notes in an entry dated February 8, 1853: The "The following gentlemen were appointed today by the Gov. and Mr. D. V. Whiting, as appraisers, Jas. J. Webb, Jas. E. Sabine, and Preston Beck Jr., in order to make a valuation of the public property brought out by Mr. D. V. Whiting with the Tesuque Indians Delegation—a proper list of the articles, and value of the same, was made and filed in this office." NMHR, 16:334. This was probably the Beck referred to.

115. Three lines below the name is spelled Majers. Apparently Abraham G. Mayers of Santa Fe, who, in 1854 was appointed agent to the Pueblo Indians. Alban W. Hoopes, ed., "Letters to and from Abraham G. Mayers, 1854-1857," NMHR, 9:290 (July, 1934).

116. Henry Von Phul, one of Lane's oldest friends in St. Louis. Despite the *Von* in his name, he was more French than German.

117. There is no way of ascertaining which Otero this was.

118. Antonio José, eldest brother of Miguel. He had been appointed to the Supreme Court by Kearny.

Don Franco Sanches the prefect, who has an agreeable Wife, but who was absent at Suveretta. Stopped for noon at the House of Don José Felipe Custillo<sup>119</sup> who was also absent. Met Capt Steel & Col Chandler<sup>120</sup> U.S.A.

#### Dinner at Custillos

1st Course Boiled Mutton & green chili Tortillas

2d " Boiled Fowl & Rice.

3d " Frijoles

4th " Curds & Mexican Sugar,

Slept at the House of Ma [?] Silva of Sabinal & sta[r]ted next morning.

Remained until Sunday 10 a.m. Halted a moment at the new place of José Ant<sup>o</sup> Baca y Pino,<sup>121</sup> & again at Limitar. Mules refused to pull & stuck fast in the Rio Grande.

Halted for Noon at the House of Juan Armijo.<sup>122</sup>

Slept at La Joya at the House of José Cordova.

*Saturday 20.* Made Socorro early in the day & stop'd at Mr Cannon's.

*Monday 22.<sup>a</sup>* Crossed the River at a short distance above Casa Colorado & below Casales, & breakfast at the House of Don Juan Domijo Valencia in Belin, recrossed the River & Halted for the night at Judge Oteros in Peralta.

*Tuesday 23<sup>a</sup> Aug.* Late start. Halted at the House of Signor Don Rafael Armijo,<sup>123</sup> in Albuquerque, & took a cup of Chocolate, wrote Letters &c. Terrible\* fall of rain. Roads inundated, reached Juan Perea's between 8 & 9 p.m.; but could not be heard by any of his Family inside his gate. Went

119. Probably Castillo.

120. [Lt. Col. D. T. Chandler was in command of Fort Conrad.]

121. A leading citizen of Socorro County. Espinosa, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

122. A leading citizen of Bernalillo County. *Ibid.*

123. Don Rafael and his brother, Don Manuel, described by General Sibley as "The wealthiest and most respectable native merchants of New Mexico," made the mistake of allying themselves with the Confederates, and after confiscations by them and, later, confiscation of their property by the Federal government, were ruined. With the flight of the Confederates, they took refuge in San Antonio. Keleher, *Turmoil*, p. 203.

\* I mean *great* fall, but not *terrible*.



on to the residence of José Leander [Leandro] Perea,<sup>124</sup> whose reply to my Mex<sup>n</sup> Servant, who applied for Lodging for us, was: "It is not a proper time of night to take in Travellers!" He shall hear from me. The night was dark & rainy & the road as bad as possible. Reached Algodones & stop'd at the House of Signor Meara.

*August 24 Wednesday.* Rain all day. Made Sta Fe about 9 p.m. The night being so dark that M<sup>r</sup> Ellison was obliged to walk in the Rain, & we had to light paper occasionally to see the road.

*Aug 25.* Rain  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the day. Much Thunder, man killed by Lightning, Mail arrived, Introduced to Judge Benedict,<sup>125</sup> pleased with him.

*Aug. 25 Thursday.* I have somewhere noted, in my Diary, that there is Little Thunder in N. Mex. In this I erred greatly as Scarcely 3 days at any time have elapsed since early in July, without a Thunder Gust, at Sta Fe, & for a large portion of the time they have been of daily occurrence.

In my late tour I crossed the Rio Bravo del Norte 4 times, 1st opposite Peralta, 2<sup>d</sup> at near Limitar, 3<sup>d</sup> at Casa Colorado, 4 at Belen. The water came into, the body of a high swung carriage at the 1st & 2<sup>d</sup> crossings, & the Mules balked at the 2<sup>d</sup> crossing & obliged me to ride out of the River behind Frank on Horseback.

Letters rec<sup>d</sup> 25 Aug. June 4 S<sup>t</sup> Louis, Union Corners, July 18.

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124. Immediately after the conquest, José Leandro Perea, of Bernalillo, went to Santa Fe "to become acquainted with the leading military officials; and to inform them fully that in so far as he and several others of his kindred were concerned, they were entirely satisfied with the change which had recently taken place." W. H. H. Allison, "Santa Fe in 1846," *Old Santa Fe*, 2:392 (April, 1915).

125. Kirby Benedict, a native of Connecticut, spent his early years in Decatur, Illinois, and there became a personal friend of Abraham Lincoln. Moving to New Mexico in 1853, he settled in Taos. He was appointed Associate Justice of the New Mexico Supreme Court and in 1858 became Chief Justice. [Cf. Arie W. Poldervaart, *Black-Robed Justice*. Historical Society of New Mexico, Publications in History, Vol. 13, ch. 6 (1948). Aurora Hunt, *Kirby Benedict*. The Arthur H. Clark Co., Glendale, California, 1961].

*August 26.* Prepared for an Electioneering Trip & on the 27th set out for San Miguel, accompanied by Hugh N. Smith Esq<sup>r</sup>.<sup>126</sup> Stop'd at Louis Kohn<sup>127</sup> at old Pecos.

*August 28.* Visited S<sup>nor</sup> [?] at Pecos Village, & then made San Miguel & halted at Senor Diego Romero

*Aug. 29.* Set out before noon for Tecalote, 18 miles off. The Rio Pecos had fallen suff<sup>ly</sup> to be forded which could not be done yesterday. Stop'd at M<sup>r</sup> Moore's at Tecolote, where we met D<sup>r</sup> Connelly, who had Seen My Family. Excessive Rain in the evening with some Hail.

*Aug. 30.* Made Las Vegas before 11 a.m. roads very muddy. Met that mass of Folly, egotism & dishonesty, Facendo [Facundo] Pino,<sup>128</sup> returning, also Mons. Senschal, who reports the Little Stream at Barclays F<sup>t</sup> to be swimming, the Segillo [Sapello]. Silver Ore. D<sup>r</sup> Connelly informed me that 300# of Silver ore from Stephenson's mine, (a mule load), will yield 3# Silver, i.e. 1/2" of Silver to the 100. He also told me that the silver mines of Chihua<sup>a</sup> will pay, 6' of Silver is yielded by the 100#, & provisions and cover there than here. He s<sup>d</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Potts said these mines of Stephenson were exceedingly Rich.

Deposited with M<sup>r</sup> Mitchell<sup>129</sup> \$50\* for incidental Exp<sup>s</sup>  
Wrote to my wife, Mary G. & Major Carleton<sup>130</sup>

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126. In 1849 he had been elected by an extralegal convention, meeting in Santa Fe, New Mexico's Delegate to Congress. He was never, however, accorded official recognition. Keleher, *Turmoil*, p. 88.

127. Louis Kunz?

128. Pino was suspected of involvement in the Taos rebellion of 1846, but nothing was ever proved against him. Paul A. F. Walter, "The First Civil Governor of New Mexico Under the Stars and Stripes," *NMHR*, 8:104 (April, 1933). "He was president of the legislative council in 1861, at the time of the breaking out of the war." Ralph E. Twitchell, *Old Santa Fe*, p. 280, Santa Fe, 1925.

129. Possibly Superintendent of Indian Affairs. Bender, "Frontier Defense . . .," *NMHR*, 9:260.

\* Money afterwards returned

130. James Henry Carleton was to become one of the most prominent and controversial leaders in the history of New Mexico in the mid-nineteenth century. During the Civil War he was made a major general (March 13, 1865.) In 1852 when Lane was on his way to Santa Fe, Major Carleton was in command of the military escort sent to meet him at Fort Atkinson. Shortly after leaving the fort, Lane suffered a violent and extremely painful and dangerous attack of "renal calculus" of which Carleton feared he would die before

*Aug. 31 Wednesday.* M<sup>r</sup> N. N. Smith returned in the carriage to Sta Fe, & I set out accompanied by M<sup>r</sup> Geo. W. Meritt & Frank for Taos, on Horse and Mule back. Made M<sup>r</sup> Levi Keithly's<sup>131</sup> Ranch, 15 m<sup>s</sup> by 1 ocl<sup>k</sup> p.m. Halted, dined & remained all night, on acct of Rain.

*Sept 1.* Bright morning. Set out, after Breakfast, accompanied by M<sup>r</sup> Keithly, for the Town of Mora 15 M<sup>s</sup> distant.

M<sup>rs</sup> Hatch the Wife of the Host says their well in the Fonda is 40 feet deep (25 thro' Rock), & that it has not failed since the 1<sup>st</sup> Summer after it was dug. The water is said to be hard, but was well tasted. I believe it is the only well in the Town. M<sup>r</sup> Merritt says it is 55 feet deep. If so it is the deapest well in the Ter. 40 f.<sup>h</sup> being the deepest, with w<sup>h</sup> I have any acquaintance, in other places.

#### Hot Springs near Vegas

M<sup>rs</sup> Hatch says there are 5 in N<sup>o</sup> but M<sup>r</sup> Merritt says the N<sup>o</sup> is 15 & that a Cold Water Spring, springs up in the midst of the group. M<sup>rs</sup> Hatch says the water will scald, but Merritt says it will not boil an Egg, & that you may plunge a limb in the water & keep it there without scalding but that it will scald if you do not keep it under water. This must be error.

*Correspondence June 5, July 14 rc<sup>d</sup> Aug. 25.* Reached Mora, in the Rain, & halted at the House of Senor D José Plai<sup>132</sup> & was hospitably entertained. Met Capt Valdez<sup>133</sup> &

they could reach Fort Union. On reaching the fort, Lane was nursed back to health by Mrs. Carleton. Twitchell, *Lane Diary*, pp. 44-49. For this he was very grateful and, to her husband's unconcealed displeasure, later presented Mrs. Carleton with a ring; but he did not find them personally congenial. Lane letter to his wife, Santa Fe, Sept. 19, 1852, Missouri Historical Society Archives.

131. "Levi J. Keithly is alluded to in records of 1852-53. In December, 1859, he was a member of the house from San Miguel county; was elected speaker, but was shortly ousted by those favoring a slave code for New Mexico. A year later, he was again a member of the house. In 1862-65, he was Indian agent for the Ute and Apache at Cimarrón." Bloom, ed., "Minutes," NMHR, 18:280, fn. 65. "According to one account, Keithly, 'a plain, honest, straightforward old farmer,' employed no devious political methods . . ." *Ibid.*, p. 244.

132. The correct spelling is Pley. He was a Spaniard, a Justice of the Peace.

133. [Probably José María Valdez, mentioned as Captain of volunteer troops. NMHR, 9:359 (1934), 19:203-04 (1944)].

many enthusiastic political friends amongst others Gen Simpson whose Family I visited. He has 4 children, 3 boys & a Girl with bright prospects for another. His wife has a fine face & was engaged in Teaching a class of little girls.

The Mora Valley is beautiful but the seasons are too late for productive ag<sup>tre</sup>. The Wheat is not yet Cut & I fear the frost will catch much of the Corn, production is greatly on the increase, & M<sup>r</sup> S<sup>t</sup> Vrain<sup>134</sup> has a merchant mill here.

*Friday 2<sup>d</sup> Sept. Mora.* After an early Breakfast set out for Taos. The Journey was made upon a Burro patch, up the Mora to the foot of the Mountains, across the Mountains, down a Valley, to the Picaris [Picurís] Creek, & then down the creek to a point where it turns to the South, from whence the patch ascends another Mountain, w<sup>h</sup> being crossed, we traversed a rugged Country to L<sup>t</sup> Ransom's camp, say 30 M<sup>s</sup>.

The natural features of the country & the productions of the soil were exceedingly interesting. Heavy Long leafed pine. Some of the Trees being over 2 feet at the butt. Some Hemlock & balsam-firs. Cotton wood, broad & narrow leafed. Aspen. Oaks (white) of low stature, some a foot over at the butt. A Dwarf W. Oak, loaded with acorns.

Being unused to riding on Horse back, this days ride, over the excessive bad roads, & Steep Mountains & Hills, have been painfully fatigueing to me, & worrying to Kitty Houghton My Mule.

*Saturday Sep. 3.* Reach Taos in L<sup>t</sup> R. Ransom's Buggy, & stop'd at Judge Beaubien's<sup>135</sup> House. Found his good Lady

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134. Apparently Vincent, since he, not Cerán, was a resident of Mora. Keleher, *Turmoil*, p. 484, fn. 10.

135. Carlos Beaubien. A French Canadian who had come to New Mexico in 1823 and settled in Taos, where he opened a store. He was the owner of the famous Maxwell grant comprising over a million acres of land in the northern part of the state. At the time of the American invasion, he remained in Taos and swore loyalty to the United States. On September 27, 1846, "Kearny appointed him one of three judges of the newly formed New Mexico Civil Court." Jim Berry Pearson, *The Maxwell Land Grant*, p. 6, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960. It was in his house in Taos that Governor Charles Bent was murdered by the rebellious Indians.

electioneering for me. The Judge returned from Sta Fe after dinner.

Francisco Monterey. Blind (man) from the age of 2, from Smallpox, now 27 y<sup>s</sup> old. Marr<sup>d</sup> at 20. Has 1 child. Maintains himself & family by his own Labours, goes to Mountains & cuts wood & brings it in on a Burro. Takes care of Horses by taking out to graze, & cuts grass for the Market of Taos, 10 cts. a Bundle, 4 or 5 Bundles a day if he finds sale for so much. Travels every where by means of his hearing & a cane. In windy weather he is embarassed & sometimes gets lost.

*Sunday Sept. 4* Taos. Visited the Ranches,<sup>136</sup> called at Geo Gould's, M<sup>r</sup> Gonzales & Hiram Long's. Day sultry.

Taos Valley produces in good Seasons, with judicious cultivation 40 Fanegas for every 1 sown, & half that quantity under circumstances less favorable.

Saw a good sized potato, from Turner's Ranch. Saw Barley growing.

*Taos, Monday Sept. 5.* Fine weather & the Election day. This day is to decide the question, whether my vanity is to (be) fed, by being elected Delegate, or my substantial interests promoted by being rejected. Nous voyons.

Monday evening. The prospect seems good that my interests are to be promoted.

*Taos, Tuesday Sept 6.* I am still at the House of Judge Carlos Beaubien, in the Town of "Don Fernando de Taos", & will remain here until tomorrow, waiting for the County election returns, & for Company to Sta Fe, having discharged my Travelling Interpreter, M<sup>r</sup> Levi Keithly, who has charged me \$8 for his services & his Exp<sup>s</sup> paid. The Election prospects brighten. But, in order not to be disappointed, I record myself beaten. It rained yesterday, & for the last 14 days, it has rained, incesantly, (I mean every day

<sup>136</sup>. Ranchos de Taos.

generally in the afternoon), 2 days, the 3 & f Inst. excepted. It has also sometimes rained, in the night. It has therefore been my Misfortune to have rain & muddy roads from Albuquerque to Taos. And the Rainbows(?) are much for want of fair weather to harvest their wheat crops. The mode is, to cut the wheat, with a Sickle, & haul it from the Field, to an out-door earthen threshing floor, enclosed by posts, set in the ground, some 5 or 6 feet apart; & to tramp it out by means of Horses & Mules; then to toss up the straw & chaff, with a pitchfork so that they may be separated from the Wheat by the Wind. The wheat is then washed free from dirt & ground in Shallow Hampers, by the Women; & then dried in the Sun upon Blankets; when it is fit for use.

The process is so defective & so dependent upon the State of the weather, from the sickle to drying process, that much of the grain is frequently damaged. The yield of the wheat is certainly great in N. Mex. but the grain is not large & full as in the U.S. I have not learned its w<sup>t</sup>! They have a species of many-headed wheat in this valley.

Senor Don Juan Vigil<sup>137</sup> paid me a visit. He is 87 y<sup>s</sup> of age & is the stoutest man of his age that I have ever seen. He enjoys good health & sees without glasses. Has been twice mar<sup>d</sup> & has numerous descendants. Was born in Taos Valley, & has been something of a Traveller, in his day.

Rabbit Ear Creek runs over a bed of Stone coal a few miles below the crossing of the Ind<sup>n</sup> road. The coal was seen by Major Carleton. Coal crops out of the South & North sides of the Raton Mountain, Carleton, Judge Baker<sup>138</sup> & others saw it. Anthracite is found a few miles above Tecolote on Tecolote Creek, says Moore; & he says Bituminous coal is found on Vegas Creek, a few miles below the Town of Las

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137. Juan Vigil was one of the men from Taos summoned by Gov. Armijo to confer with him on the defense of Santa Fe against Kearny. Keleher, *Turmoil*, p. 9. [See also NMHR, 29:315 (1954)].

138. Chief Justice Grafton Baker of New Mexico was appointed in 1851 by President Fillmore. He had administered the oath of office when Lane was inaugurated Governor. A native of Mississippi, he soon became involved in a number of feuds, and was not re-appointed by President Pierce. He was the bearer of Lane's report on the Mesilla affair to Pierce in the spring of 1853. 33rd Congress, 1st session, House Report 81, pp. 1-2.

Vegas. Coal is also found near the Town of Taos. Judge Beaubien. I saw indication of coal on a branch of the Sapello, between Las Vegas & Keithly's ranch, on the Sapello, also on the Piceris [Picurís] Creek, near where the road from Mora, leaves the Piceris Valley to go to Taos.

Both Anthracite & Bituminous Coal is found in the County of Sta Fe near the Placer Mountain. Bituminous coal is found on the Rio Pecos near Las Lunas. Capt Ewell. It is also found, in various places, in the Navajo Country. Lt Johnson<sup>139</sup> Col. Collins &c. I have not ascertained the depth of the Strata at any of these Localities, except in the Raton Mountains, where it is 3 or 4 feet in thickness.

## Election for Delegate

		Taos County	
Los Ranchos	Majority for G <sup>o</sup>	167	[José Manuel Gallegos]
Placita	"	130	
Rio Seco	"	40	
" Hondo	"	130	
	Total	487	[?]
Taos	Majority for Lane	368	
Mora	"	367	
Rio Colorado	"	36	
Racines	"	180	
		591	[?]
Majority for Lane*		104	

*Don Fernando de Taos Wednesday Sept.* A clear & fine day, with flying clouds, after a rainy night. Wrote yesterday,

139. Perhaps Lieutenant Colonel Joseph E. Johnston, formerly of the Topographical Engineers. When Lane stopped at Ft. Union on his way West, among the officers at the Fort was Lieutenant Robert Johnston. Twitchell, *Lane Diary*, p. 49, fn. 57. [Cf. NMHR, 16:135 (1941)].

\* Approx<sup>o</sup>, nearly

by Express, to Houghton,<sup>140</sup> Collins,<sup>141</sup> Ball, Messervy & Alvarez at Sta Fe, and today to St Vrain at Mora, also wrote to Willie G. & will send the Letter by Frank. Visited Friends, amongst others Senor D. Peter<sup>142</sup> [Joseph] a Portuguese Trader, who told me that he had gray hairs in his head when he came here 10 years ago; & that at this time he has not one, no dye or eradication having been used. He is said to be a man of veracity. Went to a Fandango at Bramshorns crowded & too warm, retired early. Women not pretty, & men homely. Rain on Mount<sup>ns</sup>.

*Taos, Thursday 8 Sept.* Left Taos, with Frank & Lewis the Barber; Halted for the night at Embudo, at the House of the Senora Valdez, much fatigued. The gait of a Mule does not suit me. The most fatiguing days ride I ever performed was on Mule-back, from Shibboleth (Kennet's) to Platen Rock.

*Friday 9th Sept.* Early start; halted at Belonde's, & was regaled with large sized FreeStone peaches of a good quality, (the best I had eaten in the Ter.), Musk Melons of a good quality; pears of pretty good quality Wild plums; for all of which he made no charge! But he accepted more than double

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140. Joab Houghton, former Chief Justice of the New Mexico Supreme Court. "During the war of the rebellion he was a staunch Union man, asserting his sentiments when it required nerve to maintain his patriotism. In 1862, Judge Houghton was an acting United States district attorney, and as such drew several indictments for treason against prominent citizens. In the year 1865, when he was again appointed to the bench, he was assigned to the third judicial district, and, while officiating as judge, had before him various suits brought under the act of Congress of March 3, 1863, authorizing the confiscation of property in certain cases. By his rulings in these cases, Judge Houghton laid himself open to the severest criticism, much of which was brought about through his lack of legal knowledge. Twitchell, *Leading Facts*, 2:398 note.

141. "James L. Collins came to New Mexico in 1827 as a merchant and trader, and so continued to 1843. Then for some years he seems to have operated from Booneville, Mo. Early in 1850 he bought control of the *Santa Fé Republican*, and changed its name to the *Gazette*." Bloom, ed., "Minutes," NMHR, 18:270 note. In 1857 when the offices of governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs were separated, Collins was appointed to the latter position. Bender, "Frontier Defense," NMHR, 9:353. "A resident of New Mexico since 1825, Collins was perhaps the best posted man of his day on its Indian affairs." Keleher, *Turmoil*, p. 93.

142. Dr. Myra Ellen Jenkins believes this to have been D. Peter Joseph, a French and not a Portuguese trader.



the value—\$1.50, First naively Saying, Is not this House yours? Why will you pay for anything in it? This is a strange race! Reached Canada [Santa Cruz de la Cañada] at 2 p.m. & remained all night, on acct of Election Returns & a prospect of Rain.

Estimates of votes in  
the 7. Precincts in

	Cty	
	G	L
Canada	56	74
(9) Chamita	75	15
Chama	90	15
(50) Rio Ariba	40	10
El Embudo		75
Abiquiu	90	
(300) Rito	290	10
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	641	199
Estimated majority for G. in County		442

But the estimate is by no means reliable, particularly as it regards El Embudo precinct.

*Saturday Sep 10<sup>th</sup>* Canada. Mr Gorman came up from Sta Fe in the middle of last night, with the news that I am Elected. His Mission is to the prefects Court, at the Counting of the Votes, to prevent the alteration of the Poll Books in favor of my opponent. My friends, fired off guns, & serenaded the balance of the night.

Will remain, until noon, to ascertain the state of the vote, in this County, an infliction.

The Mex<sup>n</sup> plow is a primitive contrivance, just such as we may suppose was in use, during the age of the Patriarchs. I will endeavor to give a sketch of one of a number, now in my view.

The Beam is from 10 to 13 feet, in length, & is simply an undressed limb of a Tree, as straight as can be procured. The Coulter, Share & handles are formed of another rough

limb, a little larger than the beam, & having a fork, as in the sketch above. The beam is fastened to the share, if I may so call it, by a piece of wood, pressing thro' the beam & wedged in it, & mortised into bottom piece, or a Stone, & firmly wedged into the share.

The oxen are yoked, by the Horns, i.e. The piece of timber, called the yoke, is placed behind their Horns, & then firmly strapped, to both Horns, of each Ox; which makes their heads capable of motion, up & down, only; & this motion only, when each consents to move. It may therefore be said, that their heads are stationary, which this form of a plow makes essential, as the beam is lashed firmly to the yoke, & the depth of the furrow & the steadiness of the motion of the plow will depend upon the uniformity of the elevation of the heads of the Cattle.

The nose of the share is for the most part tipped with iron;\* but none of all the 4 plows, now in my view, have a particle of Iron about them.

This kind of plow merely scratches in depth, in parallel furrows, leaving a strip of unbroken ground, between the furrows. The Scratch, is some 3 or 4 inches wide.

M<sup>r</sup> Kelly reports the votes polled in Rio Ariba to be over 800 of w<sup>h</sup> G. got upwards of 700 (erroneous)

Copy, Governor's Report of vote of Rio Ariba County

Precinct		Gallegos	Lane
N <sup>o</sup> 1.	Cañada	74.	57.
2.	Rito	149.	
3.	Ojo Caliente	103.	
4.	Chimayo	88.	15.
5.	Chama	110.	19.
6.	Abiquiu	181.	
7.	Rio Ariba	138.	20.
		826.[?]	128.[?]
	Majority for G.	698.	

\* Sometimes fastened on, with nails, & sometimes tied on, with Raw Hide.

El Embudo precinct which gave a majority for L. not returned Santa Fé City, majority for G. 129.

Set out from Cañada, about 11 & reached Sta Fé, same day. Quartered at the House of H. N. Smith Esq<sup>r</sup>.

My Electioneering Tour is now terminated, in which I have travelled 375 miles in a carriage, & 150, over the worst possible roads, on Mule-back\*, making the entire excursion of 525 miles.

*Sunday Sept 11.* Wrote to Tuly at Albuquerque by Genette. D<sup>r</sup> Howgle arrived with good Election news from Dona Ana, Socorro, Valencia, Bernalillo & Sta Anna, my majority being 9399, which makes my election certain if the illegal votes in Rio Ariba & San Miguel can be set aside.

#### Election Returns

County of Sta Anna

G. 300

L. 401 Whites & Ind

Majority for Lane

101

County of Dona Ana

L. 289

G.

Copy of Henry Cuniffe's Statement of Vote in San Miguel County

	a Tecalote	86.	
San Jose		116.	
Tecolote		99.	72
San Jeronimo		80.	12
Pueblo		60.	
Anton Chico		104.	41
San Miguel		117	1
Puerto cito		91.	
Mulas		53.	
La Questa		89.	43
Pecos		109.	11
Plaza		65	64
Sapello		88.	2
Plaza		36	4.

\* Kitty Houghton

San	96.	9.
Chapaloto	90.	8
	1399[?]	247[?]
Total	1666 —	Majority, G. 1152

*Sta Fe Sept 12. Monday.* Remained in Town all day. Much excitement hangs on the issue of the Election.

*Sta Fe, Sep 13. Tuesday.* In town all day.

Judge Houghton rec<sup>d</sup> Clew's Report of the Election Lane 886, Gallegos 634 Major. for Lane 252, whole N<sup>o</sup> of votes polled for Delegate 1520. The highest N<sup>o</sup> of Votes polled for any other candidate in this County was for Quinn, for Senator was 1496, which is less than the aggregated vote for Delegate by 24 votes.

*Wed. Sep 14.* Sta Fé. Ashe<sup>y</sup><sup>143</sup> returned. Wrote letters. Counted Money, Gold 53. Silver \$17.37, afterwards 5. Gold \$8. Silver for change sold by Frank.

(Cash added) in Gold \$300, Total  
Mexican mode of Spelling

*Sunday 18, Sept.* Have spent the 15, 16, 17 & this day, in Sta Fé. Today I went to church, & heard M<sup>r</sup> Smith,<sup>144</sup> on Pride, which he made out to be, one of the most heinous of sins. On this subject, much may be said, on the other side of the question. Grapes in abundance, not quite ripe, bro<sup>t</sup> from below, 64 cts a bunch. Peaches d<sup>o</sup> of good quality. Flies excessively troublesome, & nights cold.

*Monday Sept 19.* Sta Fé. In Town all day.

*Tuesday 20.* Votes counted by Ashurst,<sup>145</sup> Tuly & Ellison,

143. Probably for Ashurst.

144. The Reverend Lewis Smith, the second Baptist missionary to the Territory of New Mexico, who had come to Santa Fe in 1851. "Lewis Smith was recognized as an eloquent and powerful preacher and a number of his sermons were published in a memorial volume." Stapleton, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-39.

1851, and began the practice of his profession at Santa Fé. He was a man of unusual ability, a convincing orator and very successful as a prosecutor. He died in 1869, while serving his second term as attorney general." Twitchell, *Leading Facts*, 2:411, fn. 327.

145. "Merrill Ashurst who filled the office of the attorney general from 1852 to 1854, and again from 1867 to 1869, was born in Alabama; came to New Mexico in September,

with a different result. Much Excitem<sup>t</sup> against the Gov for Granting a Cert<sup>e</sup> of Election to Gallegos, & no little agst the Secretario,<sup>146</sup> for his doings in the premises.

A Mule Load, of Organ Mount. ore of 300# yields 3  
i.e. 1/2#

Silver to 100# ore—63

Will pay in Chih<sup>a</sup> where things are much dearer

D<sup>r</sup> Connelly

Travellers say the Helah<sup>147</sup> Mines are richer

Nolands Silver ore from the Hecla (about 200 miles W. of Rio Grande) from 4<sup>oz</sup> ore melted in a Black Smith shop, in Taos, gave 18 1/4 Cts Silver

Judge Watts

The apples of Sta Fé, as tasted by me, are uniformly sweet. The Grapes & Peaches which are bro<sup>t</sup> there, from a distance, are uniformly sour. The Rasberries are intensely sour. The Apricots grown here, are not very good. Melons are very poor.

Wednesday, 21st Sept. Sta Fé. My Patent Lever Gold Watch, was bought, of Fredk Billon,<sup>148</sup> St<sup>t</sup> Louis, (or rather, he was employed to buy it for me, in Phil<sup>a</sup>) in 1832. It (said to be) manufactured, in Liverpool, by Jno Houghton & is n<sup>ed</sup> 23206.

Cash on hand in Gold	300	
" added today "	60	
	—	
	Amt <sup>t</sup>	\$360
Cash on hand in silver	25.37	
" added today "	4.	
	—	
	Amt	29.37
Amt on hand in G. & S.		\$389.37
My Colts pistol is N <sup>ed</sup> 3641		

146. William S. Messervy.

147. Gila?

148. Frederic L. Billon, native of Philadelphia, son of an importer of Swiss watches; lived in St. Louis from 1818 until his death in 1885. E. G. Obear autobiographical album, Missouri Historical Society, p. 58. Active in public affairs; author of *Annals of St. Louis*. J. Thomas Scharf, *Saint Louis City and County*, 4:1592-94.

In Town all day, & have had another instance, of the instability of the opinions & course of conduct of political aspirants; & of the little dependence that can be placed in their promises & professions, & especially, of those of the Loco foco school.

*Thursday 2<sup>a</sup> Sept.* Yesterday I Settled all accts with Messervy & Webb, had the acct bal<sup>ed</sup> on My Passbook, & drew the bal<sup>e</sup> due to me. I also paid bal<sup>e</sup> due Young Kingsbury,<sup>149</sup> on acct of his serv<sup>a</sup>, as my private Secretary.

Judge Houghton gave me M<sup>r</sup> Whites correspondence about Bartlet<sup>150</sup> & the Mesilla. I am to use this correspondence, according to my discretion, to check-mate Bartlet. No doubt now remains, on my mind, that this quondam Boundary Commissioner, is both Fool & Knave; & this private correspondence, furnishes proofs, of both these characteristics.

*Roads & distances.* D<sup>r</sup> Steck<sup>151</sup> Ex Ind<sup>n</sup> ag<sup>t</sup> came from F<sup>t</sup> Webster to Sta Fé, in 5 days. He says a road can be made from Socorro to F<sup>t</sup> Webster, of 2½ days travel

Mem Cash on hand	fol.	217	\$389.37
" Added today, from Steck			30.
			439.37 [sic]
	Total		

*Frank Smith.* Gave him this day \$25, being the half of

149. John M. Kingsbury was a native of Boston and had been "the faithful clerk and bookkeeper of the firm of Messervy and Webb." He became Webb's partner in February 1854 and so continued to May 1861. Ralph P. Bieber, ed., James Josiah Webb, *Adventures in the Santa Fe Trade, 1844-1847*, pp. 34-35. The Arthur H. Clark Company, Glendale, California, 1931 (The Southwest Historical Series, ed., Ralph P. Bieber, v.1.)

150. John Russell Bartlett. "In 1850 Bartlett retired from business life and was appointed by President Taylor United States Commissioner to run the boundary line between the United States and Mexico, under the Treaty of Hidalgo, in which duty he was employed nearly three years, until February 1853." DAB.

151. Michael Steck. "A physician by profession, Dr. Steck had come to New Mexico in 1853 as an Indian agent for the Mescalero Apaches, and had served as Superintendent of Indian Affairs in the Territory during 1863 and 1864." Keleher, *Turmoil*, p. 409. He opposed the harsh Indian policy of General Carleton. He was obliged to resign from the service on May 1, 1865.

\$50, promised him when we reach Home. I will therefore have \$25. to give him in S<sup>t</sup> Louis, instead of \$50.

*Sta Fé County Bond.* I this day, myself, deposited in the hands of Señor Don Manual Alvarez of Sta Fé a Bond of S<sup>d</sup> County for Collection. The Bond is for \$500, & bears date March 14, 53; it is made payable to W<sup>m</sup> Carr Lane or Bearer, on the 1st Jany 1858; and has Coupons appended for the Int at 6 per Cent; Viz, for \$23.75 due Jany 1. 54, \$30. due Jany 1 55 \$30 due Jan 1. 56, 30 due Jany 1, 57 & 30 due Jan 1. 58. M<sup>r</sup> A. is authorized to demand & receive the money upon Coupons & Bond, as it becomes due; & after deducting his charges for making the collections, he is requested to send to me, my heirs or assigns, the bal<sup>ce</sup>.

This Bond, except for a small bal<sup>e</sup> to make the round sum of \$500, was issued for that amt of Cash paid by me Subsisting the Prisoners in the Jail of Sta Fé County, whilst I was Gov of the Ter N. Mex<sup>o</sup>.

See my Letter of instructions, to M<sup>r</sup> Alvarez, of this date, on file.

*Conti<sup>n</sup> of Sept 22<sup>d</sup>.* Went into an investigation of Roll Books of late Election.

Reports an error in the Count of the Gov<sup>r</sup> & Sec. & that I am entitled to a Certificate of Election.

*Sta Fé, Friday & Sat. 23<sup>d</sup> & 24 Sept.* Moving in the measures for a contest of the Election for Delegate. Padre Gallejos arrived in Sta Fé 23<sup>d</sup>.

M<sup>r</sup> Aubrey<sup>152</sup> informs me that he saw Black Locust Trees & Sycamores on his last trip from Cal<sup>a</sup>, bet<sup>n</sup> the Rio Colorado & Zuñi; the last named, were sometimes 2 feet in thickness, at the butt end. He also saw slate, & other indications of stone-coal. These important facts, he omitted to state, in his narrative.

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152. [See Walker D. Wyman, "F. X. Aubry: Santa Fé Freighter, Pathfinder and Explorer." NMHR, 7:1-31 (January, 1932)].

Mem Cash on hand 24 Sept	
Brot from fol 219	\$439.37
This day added Gold	54.
	Silver 1.
	<hr/>
	\$499.37 [?]
Sep 26 Cash added Gold	20.
	\$519.37

*Monday 24 Spt.* Accepted an invitation to a complimentary Public Dinner. Wrote notice to the Padre of my purpose to Contest the election. Wrote to Baker, Gen M<sup>rs</sup> Carleton & D<sup>r</sup> Langworthy. Weather wet.

*Tuesday Sept 27* Sta Fé. Wrote to Judge Law<sup>153</sup> & Judge Baker yesterday to com. Jud<sup>l</sup> affairs today.

Rec<sup>d</sup> Report of Judge Houghton, about the Mesilla (dated Sept. 1, 53, & ans<sup>d</sup> his Com<sup>n</sup> (of same date). Has rec<sup>d</sup> a Bill agst U.S. for \$50 w<sup>b</sup> I am authorized to collect for him.

Wrote to Cousin Geo Ewing y D<sup>r</sup> Steck. He is s<sup>d</sup> to reside at Austin, Texas.

Got letters from Judge Watts,<sup>154</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Messervy, M<sup>r</sup> Ashurst, M<sup>r</sup> Tuly, M<sup>r</sup> Hugh Smith, M<sup>r</sup> Welland, D<sup>r</sup> Massie, Col Collins & Judge Houghton, M<sup>r</sup> [?] has written Result of Election, according to Statem<sup>t</sup> of Sec. of Ter.

under 1st Abstract of Votes

L. 4530. G. 4322.

Majority for Lane 206

under 2<sup>d</sup> Abstract

153. John Law, 1796-1873. Mrs. Lane's brother-in-law. A native of Connecticut and a graduate of Yale, he moved to Indiana where he became a prominent figure in political and legal circles. In 1830 and again from 1844-50 he served as judge of the Seventh Judicial Circuit. He was "appointed by President Pierce judge of the court of land claims and served from 1855 to 1857; elected as a Democrat to the Thirty-seventh and Thirty-eighth Congresses. BDAC.

154. John Sebrie Watts (1816-1876) associate justice of the United States court in New Mexico, 1851-54; later, Republican member of Congress, 1861-63; Chief Justice of the Supreme Court in New Mexico, 1868. BDAC.



L.	2378.	G.	2866
	Majority for G.		488.
			under 3 <sup>d</sup> Abstract
L.	4206.	G.	2962
	Majority for L.		244 [?]
			under 4 abstract
L.	4732.	G.	5243
	Majority for G.		511.

*Sta Fé, Wednesday Sept 28.* In my Belt, Gold. 30. 30, 60. 60. 60. 60. 48. 20. 30.—\$458.

This day I rec<sup>d</sup> a Complimentary Dinner from the Citizens of Sta Fé; & in the Evening there was a Ball which I attended. Francis J. Thomas<sup>155</sup> Presided at the Dinner, & every thing passed off Harmoniously.

The Misses Edgar, G<sup>d</sup> daughters of Col Collins, at the of the [?] S<sup>t</sup> Louis, are requested by Col. C. to visit there.

My Toast the Dinner above named: The Moral & Social reform, w<sup>h</sup> has been so happily commenced in N. Mex. & in w<sup>h</sup> so many of the native citizens have cordially cooperated upon a late occasion. Truth is Mighty & will finally prevail over error & vice.

*Thursday 29 Sep. 53.* Stole a moment from business to join my Brethren of the Masonic Fraternity, & the "Odd Fellows" in the ceremonies of dedicating a Cemetery for the joint use of both Orders. I became a Mason in 1814 & was advanced, to the degree of Master Mason. Since the year 1815, I have not been a member of any Lodge, merely joining the Brethren, upon public occasions.

*Friday 30 Sept. Sta Fé.* Busied in preparing to set out in the Independence Mail Stage tomorrow morning.

Rec<sup>d</sup> a packet, containing, an unascertained am<sup>t</sup> of Gold, from M<sup>r</sup> F. K. Aubrey per hands of Mons. [?], (\$4 or 500)

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<sup>155</sup>. Clerk of the third judicial district of the Territory of New Mexico in 1853. Fernandez de Taos, *op. cit.*

to be delivered to Glasgow & Bro. St Louis, the Gold to be carried Subject to M<sup>r</sup> Aubrey's risk.\*

Rec<sup>d</sup> a Gold Bullet, from Capt F. I. Thomas, to be conveyed to Gen<sup>l</sup> Rob<sup>t</sup> Armstrong of the "Wash<sup>n</sup> Union." \*<sup>156</sup>

*Oct. 1.* Set out, in the Independence Mail Stage, for St Louis. I was accompanied, to Arroyo Hondo, by a number of citizens in carriages and on Horse-back. At the Arroyo, speeches were made & complimentary Toasts were drunk, songs were sung (one written for the occasion), & I was overwhelmed with compliments & kind offices.

Encamped near Pecos Church.<sup>157</sup> The night was cloudless, & a heavy hoar frost fell; & I was, bedding & all, made wet. Slept well. Frank woke up, with tooth ache. It rained & snowed (on the Mountains), yesterday. Dined at rock corral.

*Oct. 1.* The mail party consists of, Frank Booth, Conductor Mounted Jesse A. James,<sup>158</sup> Driver, Ben Cunningham, Out-rider Mounted Albert Driver of Baggage Wagon.

Passengers

John M<sup>c</sup>Kelvey Kingsbury, Ab<sup>n</sup> Henry Brown, Myself & man Frank. The Stage had 6 mules & the Baggage Waggon, 4 d<sup>o</sup> 1 Mule was led.

Ed F. Mitchell	Vegas
Hatch	
John Kitchins	Anton Chico
Ch <sup>s</sup> W. "	Vegas
Albert Roese	
	Tecalote
Geo. H. Estes	Sta Fe
Rich <sup>d</sup> Owens	
W <sup>m</sup> P. Delton	
Ja <sup>s</sup> A. Sabine	
J. W. Read	
Jas. M. Hunt	

\* Delivered as directed W.C.L.

156. Proprietor of the Washington, D.C., newspaper.

157. The ruins of the mission church of the historic pueblo near the Santa Fe Trail.

158. Despite his name, he was not the father of the famous outlaw.

*Oct. 2.* Sunday. Reached Tecolote, & Quartered, with M<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> H. Moore.

*Oct. 3.* Breakfasted at M<sup>r</sup> Mitchell's, at Vegas. M<sup>rs</sup> Hatch, a pretty woman, (the Mother), & M<sup>rs</sup> Mitchell (the daughter), a good woman, being present. The Breakfast was purely American, a treat, coffee with good cream, Fresh Butter, & Hot Flannel Cakes. God bless the women of the States, & their cookery, & their general habits.

*Wednesday 5 Oct.* The road lies thro' a prairie, with mounds of Volcanic Rock rising here & there, with ranges of mountains, on each hand. Ravens were numerous, & I heard a Solitary Lark sing, early this morning. Antelopes were numerous, yesterday, & today, also Prairie dogs. I saw a flock of Blackbirds, accompanying a large drove of Cattle, from the Fort. Passed the "Waggon Mound," about 8 miles to the south of our road. Our conductor shot twice at Antelopes, without effect. Breakfasted at Ocate, where the Troops have made a good crossing, by filling the bottom of the Stream with stone, the best sort of a Bridge. Distance from Camp to Ocate, 18 miles, & 12 to Red River (the Canadian fork of Arkansas). Have passed several pools of Water today. Soil generally rich. No Timber, of any kind, grass very short.

Breakfasted at noon, fried Ham, Crackers, Coffee, Molasses, & some Sweet Butter, that was put up, for my own use, at the F<sup>t</sup>, by M<sup>rs</sup> Shoemaker.

"To be good, is better than to be rich."

Saw indications of Coal, in a bank, near the road, a little distance west of Red river where we halted for Tea.

Red river, (the Canadian), is a clear stream of 20 or 30 y<sup>ds</sup> wide, & is now a foot deep, at the crossing. It runs over a Solid bed of Sandstone, having vertical longitudinal fissures, in the direction of the current. The banks are low, not more than 3 or 4 feet, showing that it never rises higher. The river bottom, is not wide & alluvial; & the bluffs are some 20 or 30 feet high. I saw appearances of slate & coal, on them. There is

no timber, & but a scanty supply of stunted cedar bushes, on the bluffs. Reached Fort Union & quartered at the House of Capt Shoemaker, U.S. Ordn<sup>c</sup> Dept; from whom, his Wife & daughter Ellen, I rec<sup>d</sup> every mark of Hospitality.

*Tuesday, 4<sup>th</sup> Oct.* Wrote to Judge Houghton (& put the letter in charge of Capt. Shoemaker), about testimony in contested election case.

Stage left F<sup>t</sup> Union, at 10 oclck A.M.

Capt. Shoemaker,<sup>159</sup> wants Burton to send him his Book. Capt Easton,<sup>160</sup> wishes to be remembered to his Friends, at St Louis. Col. Brooks wants an additional brevet.

Took our departure, from F<sup>t</sup> Union, about 10 oclck a.m., the Baggage Waggon being heavily loaded, with corn, & having 6 Mules instead of 4. A young Phil<sup>a</sup>, named Steven, & a Mon<sup>r</sup> Harder; & eight span Mules, being added to the Mail five, (27 cattle all told). Stop'd at some Water Holes, s<sup>d</sup> to be 15 miles from the F<sup>t</sup> for Dinner, after our Meal I walked ahead, 5 miles, before I was overtaken, & when I was overtaken, it was ascertained, that the Tire, of one of the wheels of the Stage, was broken off, & had worked loose. This accident obliged us, to return to the water, where we had dined; & as the carriage was crippled, the passengers walked back. This made my walk 10 m<sup>s</sup>. The carriage wheel was car<sup>d</sup> back, to the Fort, & by 3 oclck a.m. the men returned, with it; &, by Sun-rise, we were on our march again.

We had no Tent, & went to bed without Supper. The Dew fell heavily, & the night was cold. I slept uncomfortably, but rose fresh & wet.

*Saturday, 8 October.* Good Start. Sandy roads, after having made 8 or 9 miles, halted for Breakfast, at Cedar Spring,

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159. William R. Shoemaker, who joined the army in 1841 as military store keeper in the Ordnance Department. Heitman, *op. cit.*, p. 884.

160. Langdon C. Easton, a member of an old St. Louis family. He later took an active part in the Civil War in the Quartermaster Department and eventually reached the rank of Colonel and Assistant Quartermaster General. William Starr Easton, *Descendants of Joseph Easton*, p. 90.

and then made a run of 16 miles, over an exceeding good road, & at 1½ oclk reached water, near (above) Cold Spring, where we stop'd for Dinner. Have seen few antelopes, today, & no other animals except Prairie Dogs, Crows, or Ravens, & a stray lark, or 2. The Day is uncomfortably warm, with some appearance of coming rain. A Sand hill Crane, flew over the Dinner Camp. From F<sup>t</sup> Union, to this point, a plant, resembling the plant from S. America, which yields the Caoutchocin, is frequently seen. I have seen some 2 feet high, with leaves 4 in. wide, by 6 in. long, with 3 & 4 pods, having a very fine cotton, attached to the seeds. The plant yields a Gummy Milky juice when wounded. I dare presume in after times, it will be used for some economical purpose; perhaps to produce Ind<sup>a</sup> Rubber, if not, for an exceedingly fine cotton, resembling silk.

He who will not change his opinions, will never correct his errors.

Passed the Enchanted Spring\* after dark, & travelled late. Encamped 2 or 3 miles E. of the "Upper Crossing," of the Cimeron, at a pool in the Cimeron. Night mild. No dew. We ascended to a beautiful level plain, after leaving the river, & encamped in the prairie, some 4 miles east of the river, after dark, without a Tent, fire, or supper. The night was cold, no dew, & the morning smoky.

Saw many herds of Antelopes, today.

*Thursday 6 Oct.* Arose, from our Earth cots, at 5, & I walked ahead, 3 miles, with Frank & Sloan. The country is without wood; encamped, for Breakfast, at some water Holes, where we saw a crane. Conductor wounded an antelope, but we had not time to pursue it.

There are Hills, or Mountains, just on our left; & Elevated Mesas, four on the right; all in sight.

Encamped, at 8½, upon a large pool of good water, near the "Round mound," wolves around us wailing. Travellers

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\* also sometimes called "Upper Cimeron spring" near what it is said, the boundary line of the Ter. of N. Mex. passes.

passed us, going West, in the night. Night cold & dewey, no wind.

Thousands of Antelopes seen this day, but none of them killed by us.

*Friday 7 Oct.* On the march, before Sun rise. Halted for Breakfast, at Rabbit-ear creek.

During Breakfast Col. S<sup>t</sup> Ge<sup>o</sup> Cook, & Major Rucker, & D<sup>r</sup> Davidson, & their Families, came into camp, from the E. They had left S<sup>t</sup> Louis, on the 6 ult. Geo M<sup>c</sup>Guinny accompanied sister, Clara, Now M<sup>rs</sup> Davidson, & her Babe. As there was but little grass, at the camping ground, we halted at noon; & then again, at Cotton Wood Creek, for Dinner. Have not seen as many antelopes, today, as yet. Have seen 3 or 4 solitary wolves we shot 2 ducks, at the Breakfast stand.

Encamped, at 8, without water.

*Sunday October 9.* Cold windy morning. Conductor shot 4 Ducks, at one fire, & missed some Antelopes, for the 20<sup>th</sup> time. Saw some few Geese, & 2 Birds, larger than a Duck, which the Conductor said were not good for food. He called them "Mud-hens." Passed the bones of Aubreys Mules, & encamped at a pool, in the bed of the Cimeron, at 8½ a.m. Have used the Dried Dung of Oxen, for Fuel, & being dry, it makes a very Hot Fire. "Buffalo chips."

The Valley of the Cimeron appears to be 30 or 40 miles wide at this point. It seemed to be of about same width at the place which Aubrey lost his Mules, from cold, in 1 night.

Our encampment last night was near a solitary grave. He was a traveller, & died last spring. How Lonely!

I saw what I now consider to have been a Centipede, yesterday but did not take it. Examined a specimen of wingless Grasshopper which abounds, in this region. The length of the body exceeded 1½ inches, a strong [?] extended back from the head, to which it was attached, so as to overlap, in part, its little short wings, useless for flying, or even to assist its bound. Its thighs, of hind legs, were about an inch long; &

as large as the body of an ordinary Grasshopper, & its legs, about another inch in length. Its middle legs, run more slender, &, in their entire length, about an inch long; & its fore legs were some  $\frac{3}{4}$  of an inch long. Its hind legs were inserted, nearer the head, than the tail; & the entire length, from the nose, to the end of its hind foot, when marked out, was about 3 inches. It is very bulky, & apparently Clumsy, but it possesses great strength, as may be ascertained by holding it by its hind legs; & its leap does not fall short of 5 feet, & sometimes exceeds that distance. If edible, its great size, might make it available, as article of food. I do not remember to have seen this insect, E. of the Arkansas river.

Blue compact Limestone abounds at Las Vagas, & is seen as far E. as the Canadian, lying above Sandstone. I saw the same formation at the Copper-Mines (Santa Rita), on the mountains, or rather in the depressions in the Mountains. I also saw, a grayish compact Limestone, at the passe del Norte.

Sandstone appears first, on the Indp<sup>ce</sup> road, as you advance West, at the Enchanted Spring, which debouches from the sandstone formation, after you turn to the left, & ascend the Hill, or Mesa, after leaving the Valey of the Cimeron. As you go West, this sand stone is overlaid by plutonic rock, & this again, by a calcareous strata, and above the last strata, you sometimes see high points, of other formations, & always more, or less dust.

Who can estimate the age of the World, or pretend to give a history, of the changes on its surface?

This Cimeron itself is a puzzle. The old bed of a Stream is grown up with grass & a gigantic triangular Rush, with standing pools of water, here & there, & little water in the dry bed, never lower, than 2 feet in the quicksand, & never more than 5 feet below the surface of the general level of the Cimeron Valley, which seems to vary from 10 or 12 to about 40 M<sup>s</sup> in width, bordered by grassy sloping bluffs of from 50 to 200 feet high. From the road you can see where this stream

debouches, from the high lands into this Valley. From all hands I learn, that the stream above this Valley, is always a running stream, sometimes being 8 or 10 feet deep. In the Valley, it is never a running stream, long enough to destroy the grass & Rushes, in its old bed, it sinks in the Sands. What an immense Quicksand this Valley must present!

Dug a hole, in the dry bed of the Cimeron, at 1 oclk, which soon filled with tolerably good water, a little tinctured with salts. Dined on Duck-soup, a new dish, which was palatable, but perhaps it was my *appetite*, that made it so good. It cannot be denied that Frank Smith is a good cook, after his invention of Duck Soup.

Passed Mitchells Train of Ox trains, freighted with army stores after night & encamped on the Cimeron where there was no water.

The Apostate Cardenas<sup>161</sup> & a Methodist preacher,<sup>162</sup> accompanied the Train, took sick. The train party were gathered around their camp, at one of which there was music from a violin, Tambourine & Castanettes.

In the afternoon we travelled over the finest road I ever saw, & just at dark encountered a large skunk which was mistaken for a young Fox. Fortunately we suffered little from his odors.

The night was bright, from an unclouded moon, & brilliant stars, but it proved dewey & cold with a little frost. Slept uncomfortably from the cold, & having my bed ill-arranged. Will do better tonight

*Monday, October 10.* Late start, sun  $\frac{1}{4}$  an hour high. Breakfasted upon a high, level plain where there was neither grass, (except half dried Buffalo grass, scarcely 2 inches

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161. Benigno Cardenas, a former Catholic priest who had recently joined the Methodist church. He later recanted and, after doing penance in Albuquerque, was readmitted to good standing in the Catholic church. Stapleton, *op. cit.*, pp. 107-09.

162. According to Stapleton, *Ibid.*, "Upon his return from London, Cardenas was authorized to return to New Mexico in 1854 with [E. G.] Nicholson who had been appointed as Superintendent of Methodist missions." But this was 1853. [Stapleton is incorrect—the year was 1853.]



high) water or wood. Made Coffee, from the Keg of bad water, from a pit on the Cimeron, & breakfasted upon, fried Ham, Water Crackers, Coffee, some onions, pickles, with more salt than vinegar, & Molasses, & ate heartily. For a common drink, we have weak cold Tea, a little sweetened. Our Fuel is "Buffalo Chips," or rather Ox-chips, which makes, when dry, an excellent fire. I now realize that I have read about fire being made, in the desert of Africa & Arabia out of the dung of the Camel.

After descending from the low Mesa into the Valley of the Cimaron, we found some indifferent Water (brackish), in the holes, which have been dug by travellers; & halted, for dinner. The cattle have not tasted Water, since dinner yesterday; but either were not very thirsty, or did not much relish the Water.

This is a dreary country; Not a tree, or even a bush, to be seen; & even tall weeds, & luxuriant grass, are not to be found. A dreary waste is presented, before, behind & on either side. A very few Antelopes, an occasional large & surly Wolf, nearly white, some marmots & here & there a Skunk, make up the Catalogue of Land Animals; & birds are still more scarce.

The Weather is however fine. It is decidedly what we call, in the states, Indian Summer, the atmosphere being murky, if not smokey, & the sun more or less lurid, in the morning. These appearances were observable as soon as we emerged from the Mountain region, at Las Vegas. The Valley of the Cimeron, is a wretched locality; but the highlands, on each side of it, that I have seen, are beautiful & perfectly level, with the appearance of an exceedingly fertile soil. I never before saw any lands so perfectly level. These flats are covered with Buffalo grass, a short nutritious grass, curled, & not more than 1 or 2 inches high. As soon as you reach the Cimaron, you see the roads & Wallows, of the Buffalo, now grown over with grass; showing conclusively, that the Buffalo is no longer a denizen of this region. The roads ran uni-

formly, from N. to S., & consist of a Single path, about 18 inches or 2 feet, in width; or 2 or more parallel paths, so near each other, as to give the road the appearance of a waggon road.

The Buffalo is rapidly disappearing, &, in a very few more years, will entirely disappear from the plains. Our Ind<sup>n</sup> policy must therefore be changed, to enable the Ind<sup>ns</sup> to subsist.

In the evening the conductor broke the hind leg of a Buck Antelope & Kaw the short legged cur caught him. He was in tolerable good order only, but served as a valuable addition to our Ham, which is neither good nor plentiful.

Encamped at a pool of good water, said to be  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile from the "Lower Cimeron Spring."

The early part of the night was warm, & the Mosquitoes were troublesome.

*Tuesday 11<sup>th</sup> Oct.* Early start, & made Valley of Sand Creek, over a beautiful stretch of road, before nine. Encamped at a large pool where there were Geese & Ducks of small size. Shot a Brant & some ducks. Morning very windy, from the North.

Witnessed an extraordinary instance of courage in Caw, the Dog. The bowels of the Antelope had been left some 300 yards from the Carriages, & soon a wolf came up for a repast, & 2 others showed themselves. This was too much for Caw's patience & he boldly encountered the 3, & drove them away.

Encamped about 13 m<sup>s</sup> from Arkansas. The night was fine & I never slept better in my whole life. Heard a wail in the night which I tho't to be that of a panther or cougar. Wolves Howled around our camp, & a small herd of Buffalo were grazing about a mile from Camp, & a herd of Antelopes about half that distance.

Yesterday the Conductor shot a buck antelope through the stomach, which was caught by means of the Dog & the

outriders. This sen-senable supply of Fresh meat, is a great relief.

The conductor says the distance from our camp on Sand Creek to the Ark<sup>s</sup> is 48 miles. The wood, with the exception of a reach of about 7 miles at the Arkansas is the best in the World. Not a hill, or a stone, & no sand. The Soil is a rich Black Mould; but there is not a drop of running water from Sand Creek to the Ark<sup>s</sup>, & now all the pools are dry. Our Cattle had no water for 24 hours.

*Wednesday, 12 Oct.* Breakfasted on the Ark<sup>s</sup>. The banks are low, about 5 feet,\* & the River is quite low, being a series of sand bars. Water nearly clear & well tasted.

Crossed the River, where it was  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a mile in width, & upwards, & free from Islands. The River was full of sand bars, &, at the deepest places was not more than knee deep. The bottom was a sort of Quicksand, in which the Mules & Carriages sank, but not suddenly.

A few miles below the crossing met the Mail stage & the Conductor concluded to encamp together for the day. L<sup>ts</sup> Moore & Garland were passengers; the former of whom, I found to be interesting.

An old Buff<sup>o</sup> Bull, came within rifle shot, of our Breakfast Camp; & then galloped off.

At the camp of the 2 stage Co<sup>s</sup>, 5 Buff<sup>o</sup> came down to the river, to drink, below the Camp; but we were not in the humor to hunt.

Wolves came into camp, during the night. Dew fell slightly. Mosquitoes, somewhat troublesome. Pleased with L<sup>t</sup> Moore; not much pleased with Garland.

*Thursday 13 Oct.* Early start. Breakfasted near F<sup>t</sup> Atkinson, now abandoned. Weather cloudy & cool.

Mirage was observed upon several occasions, W. of the Arkansas.

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\* oftener 3 feet.

Supped upon Crow Creek, & encamped in the prairie. A fine night, & abundance of Wolves.

*Friday 14 Oct.* Heavy Fog in the morning. Stop'd upon Little Coon Creek, now drained dry, by the immense herds of Buffalo, which overspread the country, in every direction. We have passed a succession of Herds, for at least 10 miles & if I were to estimate their numbers, at many hundred thousand I presume I would not err. Many of the herds are composed of Bulls alone. Day cloudy & cool.

Every body out of temper, about water. The Mules have had no drink, since supper last night, & are unusually thirsty, from hard driving; & the Buffalo have drank all the pools, in the Creek, upon which we have halted, perfectly dry, so that we cannot get a drop to cook with; & we have no water ahead, until we reach Pawnee Fork,—25 miles.

After much swearing, & some digging, in the mud, in the bed of Little Coon Creek, the men managed to dip up, enough of extremely questionable water, to make some coffee. There were to many infirmities in sight, in the mud of Coon Creek, & the water which was procured, was too badly tasted, to encourage me to take any more of the coffee, than about half a cup. Besides, there is nothing in any part of the Breakfast, the Ham excepted, that is not disgusting, so I eat little. A work man used [?] us it [?] eating, could not well be [?]

We were in the midst of vast Herds of Buffalo, until we reached Pawnee Fork, at 3 oclk p.m. This is a pretty stream, running in a deep trench, some 20 or 25 feet deep, with steep banks, with stoney bottom, & some 20 feet across the deepest part, being some 12 inches, & current rapid.

This pretty stream, is the more agreeable, by being shaded with timber, (scattered), of large size. All the Trees that I examined were Elm & Ash, and none were tall, altho' some of them were more than 18 inches thro a yard from the ground. The Buffalo were so numerous, that all the grass, in the vicinity of the River, was eaten close to the ground. The soil, for many miles around, is exceedingly rich. The trees, seen

here, are the first that are met with, since you leave the Mountains, at Las Vegas.

Encamped, 4 or 5 miles east of Ash-creek, in which we found wet mud, in the pools, but no water, conclusive proof, that the countless herds of Buffalo, had been there, since the last rain. Night cloudy, could not sleep, for the Lowing of the Buffs, & the Howling of Wolves, some of the latter came into camp, & howled most piteously.

It commenced raining, about 2 o'clk, & we were obliged to pack up bedding, & sit in the Carriage until morning.

*Saturday 15 Oct.* Early start, in the Drizzling rain & fog. Buffalos abundant, & as stupid as ever, in uniformly running parallel to the road, & attempting to cross it, ahead of the mail-coach. Lines containing hundreds of individuals, from the old half gray, shaggy, powerful Bull, with his long tufts of hair, under his throat, & his outside leggins, hanging nearly to the ground, upon his forelegs, to the last spring's calf, were continually crossing the road, ahead of us, in single file, at full speed; and sometimes no more than from 50 to 70 yards in advance of the Coach. But our only Rifle was wet, &, besides, we had neither the humor, nor time, to hunt. There was some little timber, in Ash Creek. The soil is exceedingly fertile, & level all the way from Pawnee fork. Encamped, for Breakfast, upon a bend of the Arkansas, a few miles W. of Walnut Creek. The Banks of the Ark here have Sand hills, (low), on the North side. Heard the Note of the Partridge of the states. The Partridges of N. Mex., are of a diff<sup>t</sup> species, & identical with those of Cal<sup>a</sup>. The Pheasant is also diff<sup>t</sup> from ours, with dark plumage. The "Pawnee Grape" Vine, was dug up, by me, upon the Pawnee Fork. The "Arkansas Grape" Vine, & "plum" scion, was dug up, by me, at this camp.

I see the Indian Rubber plant, thus far, on our road side.

Meadow Larks, are now & then heard & seen, & Black-birds, are numerous & noisy this morning.

If you would have abundance of vegetable & animal life, you must seek them, only, where water abounds.

Pawnee fork, is 65 m<sup>s</sup> from F<sup>t</sup> Atkinson, by the dry road, & 80 by the road, near the Ark<sup>s</sup> River.

It drizzled all the morning until Breakfast time, & then cleared off. At Walnut Creek, we met M<sup>r</sup> Withington,<sup>163</sup> the mail agent, from Council Grove, with corn for the Mules. He had a Waggon, a German & a Kaw & a Cherokee Indian, with him & supplied us with Buffalo meat some Irish potatoes & some Fresh Butter, a most acceptable treat. Encamped at Walnut Creek, to feed the Mules with Corn; & made a long halt, every body Cramming themselves to the throat with Buffalo meat, the Hump Ribs &° &° &° of a Cow. But the cooking did not please me.

Was informed by M<sup>r</sup> W. that 2 German Noblemen, with their retainers, were encamped, a half a Mile up the Creek, hunting the Buffalo.

Strengthened our Mailcoach Team by 2 additional Mules, & then went forward at a rapid rate; & encamped for the night near the 2 Butes (2 Sand Hills so called), where there was no water & little grass, the country having been extensively burned.

About 10 ocl<sup>k</sup>, it commenced raining, & continued to rain all night. The Passengers & Frank got into the Stage Coach & Baggage Waggon.; & the men got *under* the Waggon. I did not move my bed, relying upon my India Rubber Cape, to save me from the wet; but by Sun-rise I was well bathed in Cold Water.

*Sunday, October 16.* Made an early start, morning drizzly, passed many Herds of Buffalo. Country much burnt.

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163. In the diary of his outward trip, Lane refers to Charles H. Whittington, mail agent at Council Grove. Twitchell, *Lane Diary*, p. 28. This was probably the same man, his name having been misspelled before. "Charles H. Withington was, without doubt, the oldest settler in Lyon county, having established his trading post with the Indians in June, 1854 . . . He was then, and for several years after, the directory and historical society for the county." Flora Rosenquist Godsey, "The Early Settlement and Raid on the 'Upper Neosho,'" Kansas State Historical Society, *Collections*, 16 :452 (1923-25).

Breakfasted at Cow Creek. Halted again to bait Mules, on Chaves Creek. Weather cloudy & Cool.

M<sup>r</sup> Withington (an uneducated man), who resides, with his Family, at Council Grove, is of opinion that the Mission (Methodist), at the Grove, is productive of little good. Indeed he is of opinion that the educated Ind<sup>ns</sup> are the "greatest rascals" of the Tribe. This may be true, for intellectual cultivation, without moral culture, may be of little benefit.

The country from the boundary of Missouri, to Las Vegas, some 700 miles in extent, may be said to be, a treeless series of Grassy plains, scarce, but not destitute, of water. These plains, on this side of Pawnee Fork, have just been burnt, & now there is not even grass sufficient to relieve the eye, or feed the cattle of Travellers & Buffalos, except here & there in very limited quantities. I believe it is unusual for the prairies to be so extensively burnt, at this season of the year; for the grass is not yet entirely dry.

M<sup>r</sup> W. informs me, that he has just bo<sup>t</sup> 1000 Bu. Corn, which was raised by the Kansas Indians, at 66 cts per Bu in Mdze.

The first Grouse was seen near the Little Arkansas. They are very scarce. Buffalo have been seen, by us, only from the great, to the Little Arkansas, and here they were in countless numbers.

*Monday 17 Oct<sup>r</sup>.* No rain last night, & we slept well. At 4 o'clock A.M. were upon the road; and at 7<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in the morning reached running Turkey Creek 15 miles, & encamped for Breakfast. This is a running stream & hence its name. Saw some Small Ducks & shot one. Had shot 2 Grouse. The burnt prairie extends throughout on the North Side of the road. M<sup>r</sup> Withington informs me that they have no equinoctial rains this season, & that we may expect to have wet weather. We expect to reach Council Grove tomorrow, & Independence in 3 days more. This looks like getting home at last.

The Kansas Indians number about 1320 Souls, & their an-

nuity, per capita, is 6 & some cents each. Their numbers are s<sup>d</sup> to be on the increase; & their condition is improving, so says M<sup>r</sup> Withington, who does not praise them much

Kaws	1320	Withington
Osages	4800	Ja <sup>s</sup> Rogers a Cherokee who is with M <sup>r</sup> Withington

The Old Kaw Ind<sup>n</sup> who is in Comp<sup>r</sup> with Withington, cannot tell his age. He has had 3 wives & 47 children by them, of which number 9 only are now living. One of his wives is dead. He is a large man, & measures round the chest the same size that I do. It seems to me that Indians are rounder in their chest than White men; i.e., deeper from the sternum to the back. The old fellow showed us several scars from wounds which he said he had rec<sup>d</sup> in Battle; & told us that 3 of the w<sup>ds</sup> were rec<sup>d</sup> from that N<sup>o</sup> of Pawness whom he had slain.

Encamped at noon on Delaware creek to graze the Mules. This Stream, now dry, is 55 m<sup>s</sup> from the Grove & takes its name from the Delaware Ind<sup>n</sup> who was robbed & murdered there in '52, by the 4 [?] from the U.S.A. 2 of whom were hung, & 1 acquitted. The 4<sup>th</sup> turned States evidence, & saved himself.

Met M<sup>r</sup> Abram's train of 8-12 Ox Waggon, under the charge of M<sup>r</sup> Van Eppy & M<sup>r</sup> Thos Ackerman. They had 4 Span Oxen; & three under the yoke looked well.

Halted at Cotton Wood creek (in which it is said there is a 6" Iron Cannon, left there by Pike) for supper. This stream which has abundance of water, but does not run now, is 45 miles from the Grove. There is more timber here than has been seen since we left the Mountains at Las Vegas. It is all cottonwood, & taller than is usual. The Soil all this day has been uncommonly fertile. The Buffalo grass has given place to prairie grass, except in patches, no doubt produced by seed in the Dung of Oxen & other Cattle, which have fed upon Buffalo grass; & the seeds have passed without having had their vitality destroyed. According to my observation the



Buffalo grass is gradually making its way, along the road, eastward.

Encamped at a place called I believe "Lost Spring," after a drive of 52 miles. The night was cold & a heavy Dew fell so as to wet our bedding. Slept well.

*Tuesday, 18 Oct.* Late start. Morning exceedingly Foggy. Halted for Breakfast upon [blank in ms.] Creek, about a mile west of Diamond Spring, after a drive of 14 miles. We are now 17 miles from the Grove, & thank God for it. I am tired of the Journey & am not anxious to make it again.

Game today 1 grouse wounded & lost & 1 caught.

Drove at a smashing rate, & reached the Grove, at a little after 2 P.M., some 32 miles. Found some 40 or 50 Lodges of Kaw Ind<sup>ns</sup> encamped South of the Town, & heard much complaint of their thieving, from the Whites. Stop'd at the House of M<sup>r</sup> Withington (Ch<sup>s</sup> W.) This place is visited by Intermitting Fever. M<sup>rs</sup> Withington spread an excellent & Table for us, but none of the party partook but myself. God bless the women of the States.

*Wednesday, 19 Oct.* Late start. Breakfast at Rock Creek, some 8 miles. Am delighted with the massive Timber, on the Neosho, Big-John & Rock Creek, Overcup, Sycamore, Walnut, Hickory, &c. Acorns & nuts abound. Weather fine. Indian Summer. Met Mons. Cyprian Chouteau,<sup>164</sup> with an Ox-train going to the Grove. Passed a small creek & then another, called Bluff Creek, which was [?] M<sup>r</sup> Booth says the junction of Rock & Bluff creeks with the Neosho, some miles below, presents a tract of some 2000 acres of the best farming land, with heavy Timber. The Country is Rolling. The prairies are on fire. Look rich, but the substratum of stone is too near the surface for first rate fertility, in seasons of drought. Encamped for Dinner on Elm Creek, 23 miles from the Grove.

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164. Son of Pierre Chouteau, Sr. and Brigitte Saucier. An employe of the Chouteau-Sarpy Fur Company, he spent a great part of his life among the Indians. He was born in 1802 and died in 1879. Paul Beckwith, *Creoles of St. Louis*, p. 49.

Encamped for the night, on the plain, without water. Night Cloudy, at the commencement and comfortable. Dewy towards morning; The prairies are extensively on fire, & present a very magnificent spectacle.

*Thursday 20<sup>th</sup> Oct.* Started at sunrise &, after a drive of 12 Miles, halted for Breakfast, at "119 Creek." Our next halt was at a Settlers House on the E. side of "110," where we waited until the stage came up. This Settlement consisted of 3 families. The women were mixed breeds of the Shawnee Tribe. One of the men was also a Mixed breed, & the 2 other men were whites. Their Habitations exhibited industry. The Houses were well built Cabbins, & the Fences were substantial. They had dug a well of some 30 feet in depth, which afforded excellent water. All spoke english, but Shawnee was the language in common use. Fever & Ague prevailed & the White man especially looked lean, sallow & miserable. The children were of uncommonly large size, but did not present a healthy look. The furniture in their Houses & their modes of living, were those of the Whites. I am told that these Indian wives are uncommonly industrious, & faithful to their Husbands. Any white man who marries a Shawnee woman, is entitled to as much Land as he can cultivate; & the land is inherited by the Wife's children. It is the Wife who receives the annuity wh<sup>h</sup> is due to her & her children, per Capita. So says M<sup>r</sup> W.

After a drive of some 14 Miles, over a road which was in some places distressingly dusty, we halted, to water & bait the Mules, upon the edge of a burnt prairie, on Rock creek, which presented standing pools of questionable water only. Our dinner consisted of Fried [?] Crackers, pickles & tea, with bad brown sugar, only.

Notes from Edw<sup>d</sup> Everetts letter of 17<sup>th</sup> Sep. '53, to Lord Jno Russell, thro' "Boston Advertiser."

The speeches of Eng<sup>h</sup> Minister in Parliament are *sometimes* 4 & 5 hours long, & frequently 2 & 3. M<sup>r</sup> Everett's minis-

terial reply to the proposition, for a Tripartite Treaty (the length of which was complained of by Lord John), would have made a speech of about one hour long.

Not more than 1/10 of the population of Jamaica, is of European origin. France *compelled* Spain by the Treaty of Amiens, to cede Trinidad to England, which Island "by strength of Position is the Cuba of the Southeastern Antilles."

France did not get possession of Louisiana in 7 months after she had sold Louisiana to the U.S. She came into possession on the 30<sup>th</sup> Nov. 1803, & surrendered it to the U.S. on the 20<sup>th</sup> Dec. 1803, making a 3 weeks possession, "a mere ceremonial affair, to give *form* to the transfer of the province."

"The Ter. of the U.S. is but little less than the whole of Europe while their pop<sup>n</sup> is not quite equal to that of the United Kingdom." . . . "The people of Cuba were justly disaffected to Spain." M.A. [?] a recent impartial French Traveller confirms this statement.

Florida point is 110 miles from Cuba, Gen<sup>l</sup> Terrigos fitted out a Mil. Exp<sup>n</sup> in the Thames in 1831, which was defeated at the last moment "its members escaped." France has annexed 600 miles of African coast, with an indefinite extension into the interior. England has lately annexed the half of the Burman Empire, & France the Society Islands in the Pacific Ocean.

For spoliations by England previous to 1794, provision was made by Jay's Treaty. For D<sup>rs</sup> [depredations?] by France, the Convention of 1800, was an illusory set off. Soon afterwards other spoliations commenced, & 100 millions worth of property was swept off the high seas, under "Orders in Council," & the "Berlin & Milan Decrees."

For the spoliations made by the English no indemnification has been made; & for those by the French, a very partial indemnification only by the convention of 1831.

I regard this letter as an unanswerable production, of which every American ought to be proud.

The Rail-road meeting at Ind<sup>ce</sup> Recommended Noble's case, or the Pitt river pass, with a bifurcation to Oregon; & they ask for a survey of the great central route thro' Delaware pass, or South pass, in the Sierra Madre, & Nobles pass or Pitt river pass, in the Siera Nevada, with a bifurcation by the Klamath pass, to Oregon, & down the Wallamet, & across the Columbia, to Puget Sound.

Conchatopee pass, Cochtope. [Cochetopa] Much is said, in the U.S., about this pass, & yet I never heard it mentioned in N. Mex.

Northern Boundary U.S.	49°
Mouth of Kansas	39°
Mouth of Mississippi	29°
S <sup>t</sup> Louis, Cin <sup>tl</sup> & Wash near	38°
Sta Fé	35°, 41'

The Cost of Transporting the Pacific Mails already am<sup>ts</sup> to about 11¼ Mill an<sup>ly</sup>, says Priestly Ewing, Memb. Cong., in his letter to Sec'y Walker.

*Friday, 21<sup>st</sup> Oct.* Encamped last night at Willow Spring, & came on for Breakfast to Black-Jack, some 9 miles; where there is a deserted little Farm. Last night was pleasant with no Dew. This morning we have a drizzling rain, which is preferable to the heavy dust of yesterday.

Our Breakfast of fried Ham, Crackers, coffee & pickles being dispatched we moved on to Bull-creek, 10 miles. When we halted at The Trading house of Baker & Street<sup>165</sup> to bait the Mules. The rain & Wind has steadily increased & is now, noon, somewhat violent this however did not prevent our onward march, amidst the Rain which continued until the middle of the afternoon, when the rain ceased & the wind & cold increased to an uncomfortable extent.

Our Dinner-halt at "Lone Elm"\* was full of discomfort,

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165. In 1855, among the men and firms at Westport were Baker and Street. William R. Bernard, "Westport and the Santa Fe Trade," Kansas State Historical Society, *Transactions*, 9:564 (1905-06). They conducted a general merchandise business.

\* Some Barbarian had cut down the Tree.

from the weather wet ground on which we were obliged to spread our meal & set, the wind, smoke & cold: And last from our poor fare, fat bacon fried, the last of the Crackers & a scanty supply, a bit of pickle apiece & Tea without sugar, water boiled in the coffee pot. But being our last meal on the "the plains" no-body grumbled. We are literally out of provisions nothing remaining on hand but a little Tea & pepper & the back of a Shoulder of Bacon.

At Baker & Street's saw a patient with an Int. Fever, which disease prevails here.

Mr Withington at Council Grove informed me that the Shawnee Indians deny that Tecumseh fell on the field of Battle or by the hand of Col. R. H. Johnston. They assert that he was mortally wounded, at the Battle of the Thames, retired from the field, & crawled into the Top of a fallen Tree, & there died.

The Shawnees are diminishing in numbers. The Indians are undecided about selling their lands; but will probably consent to sell, a part of their lands, as soon as they had to take council upon the subject.

Reached Sta Fé which is on Boundary line of Missouri & all camped. The night was dark cold & windy, & the ground wet. I slept on the wet ground in the open air, & suffered from the cold.

*Saturday, 22<sup>d</sup> Oct.* Morning cold & Windy. I suffered somewhat, being unprepared for the change in the weather.

Made the Widow Rhodes for Breakfast, 13 Miles.

Arrived at "Independence" 1¼ p.m. & took lodgings at "Noland House" Mr. [blank in ms.] Proprietor.

Thus ends a Journey across "The Plains," in the Stage, of 800 Miles, which was commenced on the Inst, & w<sup>h</sup> has been performed, without suffering, & without any accident.

Sent a message by Tel., to my wife. Expect to embark on the "Honduras," tomorrow evening.

Jose Maria & the Tesuque Ind<sup>ns</sup>

Wrote to Tho<sup>s</sup> Huffaton, Methodist Mission, Council

Grove Nebraska, on behalf of Jose Maria & the other Pueblo Ind<sup>ns</sup> & requested him to write to M<sup>r</sup> John Ward Spl Ind<sup>n</sup> Ag<sup>t</sup> Sta Fé N. Mex. & inform him of the condition of some packages & a Brood Mare belonging to these Ind<sup>ns</sup> which M<sup>r</sup> D. V. Whiting<sup>166</sup> is said to have left in the hands of M<sup>r</sup> H. last fall. Sent a copy of this letter to M<sup>r</sup> Ward to be shown to Gov Meriwether & Jose Maria.

Saw Newspaper Notice of the death of my poor Little Jimmy.<sup>167</sup>

M<sup>r</sup> Edw<sup>d</sup> F. Beale,<sup>168</sup> Sup<sup>t</sup> Ind<sup>n</sup> Aff<sup>s</sup> Cal. left Westport M<sup>o</sup> 17 [10] May 53 & reached Los Angeles, Cal<sup>a</sup> 22<sup>d</sup> Aug., travel<sup>g</sup> time 49 days. His Animals were in good order, notwithstanding that they had traversed 800 miles more than the direct distance, by having to pass from Grand River to Taos for Provisions & back again to Gr<sup>d</sup> Riv<sup>r</sup>.

M<sup>r</sup> B's route was, across to the Arkansas, up to the Mouth of Huerfano, up that River "to its source," across the "Rocky Mount<sup>ns</sup> by the savage "de Chito pass" [Sangre de Cristo Pass. FDR], to valley of Rio del Norte, reaching F<sup>t</sup> Mago<sup>n</sup> [Massachusetts, FDR] in 20 days, having lost 3 days.

Crossed "the Mountains at the conchatope [Cochetopa] pass," forded "sev<sup>l</sup> large Streams none of w<sup>h</sup> are mapped." The Rio de Laguna, "a perfect Mount<sup>n</sup> torrent" was passed, by Means of a rope, Peruvian fashion. The next stream was the "Uncompayee" [Uncompahgre], a tributary of Gr<sup>d</sup> River, in w<sup>h</sup> a Mule was drowned. The Country abounded in Deer, Elk & Antelope. Grand River was the next Stream. The Utahs were on the W. Side of G<sup>d</sup> river. Had many Horses, next point

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166. "Our earliest mention of David V. Whiting is in a letter of J. S. Calhoun, dated at the Indian agency in Santa Fé, February 16, 1851." Abel, ed., *Official Correspondence of James S. Calhoun*, p. 292. Soon, Calhoun was using him as translator and interpreter, and presently as private secretary. Bloom, ed., "Minutes," NMHR, 18:252.

167. James, son of Wm. Glasgow, Jr. and Sarah Lane Glasgow, had died on October 14 in St. Louis.

168. "Prominent among the leaders of a new scheme of transportation were Major Henry C. Wayne, U.S.A. and Edward F. Beale, formerly an officer in the Navy, but at that particular time, Superintendent of Indian Affairs in California." He was interested in the use of camels as a means of transportation, over the Western trails. Fred S. Perrine, "Uncle Sam's Camel Corps," NMHR, 1:434 (October, 1926). For Beale's trip to California in 1853 see Gwinn Harris Heap, *Central Route to the Pacific*. Philadelphia. 1854.

“Santa Clara, “Muddy River” pas Utahs [Paiute Indians], Tio Mesa, Mohave, Los Angeles. Letter of J.A.L. [Informant for information on Beal. FDR]

Embarked in O. B. Honduras, at Blue Hill (Independence), Landing at 4½ oclk p.m. on the 23<sup>d</sup> Oct, Sunday.

Wrote to Col. Collins, letter to be mailed at Lexington.

The River, being very low & snags abundant, the Boat lay to all Night. Fare self & serv<sup>t</sup> to s<sup>t</sup> \$16.50 p<sup>d</sup>

*Mon. 24 Oct.* Took on Coal at Sibley & Freight (Bale rope), at Lexington. Bumped upon Snags all day & once upon a Mud-bar. Tied up, for the night, early at a Wood yard.

W<sup>m</sup> Connelly, Capt. of the Boat.

Lewis Morris, Clk.

Tonnage of Boat 600 Tons.

Freight aboard 40 or 50 Tons

*Tuesday 25<sup>th</sup> Oct.* Reached Boonville 2 oclk p.m., was asleep, grounded upon a Sandbar ½ mile above Rockport, & did not get off until about dark. Dropped down to Rockport & tied up, for the night.

*Wednesday 26 Oct<sup>r</sup>.* An upward-bound Boat laid along side of us all night. It rained hard all night. Early start, but we had not been afloat an hour before we ran upon a Bar, high & dry; & then had to work hard, with spars & windlas, for hours, before we were afloat again. Got afloat at 11 a.m.

Telegraphed my wife, from Jeff<sup>n</sup> City, in the afternoon, & told her to expect me, tomorrow evening. Lay to, below the mouth of the Osage, for the night.

Last night it rained heavily; tonight, it is pitchy dark.

*Thursday 27 Oct.* Early start. About sunrise ran upon a sand-bar, & at half after 4 p.m. we got afloat (4½ oclk p.m.) wooded & then tied-up for the night a few miles below where we had been upon the sand bar all day.

*Friday 28 Oct.* Made a succesful run & entered the Missipi, a few minutes before 6 p.m.

Did not recognize BelleFontaine (a cantonment established in 1803 by Gen<sup>l</sup> Wilkinson) where I was station as an Army Surgeon in 1816, & where I was stationed in 1818 after I was married; & where I continued until I resigned, May 1, 19.

Reached Home, after 8 p.m. & went, with my wife, out to M<sup>r</sup> Glasgows.

*Monday, Nov. 7<sup>th</sup>.* Have remained at my Family residence, N<sup>o</sup> 39 S. 4<sup>th</sup> Street, S<sup>t</sup> Louis, from the 29<sup>th</sup> ult., until this time, having paid 1 visit, of 2 days length to Bienvenue,<sup>169</sup> 3 visits to my son-in-law's Family. Willie is better, Victor is somewhat ill, from Chills, & my Daughter Sarah is Much out of health.

N<sup>o</sup> of my House 39

M<sup>rs</sup> Cuthbert, Phil<sup>a</sup> 359 Arch S<sup>t</sup>

*Nov. 16.* Engagement made with M<sup>r</sup> T. G. Adams<sup>170</sup> to farm Bienvenue jointly, see mem. of agreement.

*Nov. 18<sup>th</sup>.* Have remained in S<sup>t</sup> Louis until this day.  
My w<sup>t</sup> 195, without my Coat.

*Nov. 21.* Wrote to D<sup>r</sup> Sam<sup>l</sup> Moore Fairport, Muscatine County, Iowa & informed him that M<sup>r</sup> S<sup>t</sup> Vrain had not yet [?] Notes in my hands.

*Nov. 22.* Wrote to Marianna Shemelly & enclosed Gov<sup>t</sup> chk. for \$10 div. & 5.55 prem. \$15.55 directed to Lex<sup>n</sup> M<sup>o</sup>.

Also to Hon. John Law Evansville Ind<sup>a</sup>.

M<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Glasgow Jun<sup>r</sup> wants the 2 Patent off. Reports, previous to that of 1852.3 also

The papers of the Smithsonian Inst<sup>n</sup> if they can be had without cost or trouble

Miss Elizabeth E. Lucas Convent of the Sacred Heart Manhattanville, New York.

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169. The family farm on the hill above the Chain of Rocks, now the site of Glasgow Village.

170. Probably an error for Frank Adams, a nephew, who lived at Bienvenue years after this.



Nov. 23. Wrote to Judge Houghton St<sup>a</sup> Fé, & enclosed the papers relating to the claim of Don Pablo Melendrez.

Nov. 24. Wrote to Col. Collins & Major Creiner, Sta Fé Jno Law Evansville & Hon E. Whittlesey Wash. Journey to Wash<sup>n</sup> City

Nov. 24. Set out accompanied by my Daughter Ann,<sup>171</sup> at 6¼ oclk ¼ p.m. route Alton by S.B.; rail road thence via Chicago, Buffalo &<sup>c</sup>

Fare to N. York	\$29.80	59.60
Hack, S <sup>t</sup> Louis		1.50
Baggage Wag <sup>n</sup>		.25
Breakfast myself R R		.50
Supper, S. Boat	.25	
	.25	.50

Road all night & reached La Salle at noon 25<sup>th</sup>. Landed at Chicago, Sherman H<sup>s</sup> at 5½ p.m.

Journey to Wash<sup>n</sup>

	.50	
Exp <sup>s</sup> Dinner at La Salle	.50	1.00
3 Apples on way		.10
Omnibus at Chicago		.30
Supper	"	1.
Omnibus	" to depot	.30

Reached Buffalo 10½ p. & Albany 9¼ a.m. on Sunday 26<sup>th</sup> Stop'd at Delavan House Cor. of Steuben & [blank in ms.] S<sup>ts</sup>

Exp <sup>s</sup> Breakfast	gst	.50	
		.50	1.00
Supper Myself			.50
Bill at Delavan H <sup>s</sup>			3.50
Barber			.12

171. Anne Ewing Lane, 1819-1904. Lane's eldest child, a very strong-minded and outspoken young lady, who adored her father, but, since they were very much of a kind, they had many furious clashes. Lane consistently refused to append the final "e" to her first name because her middle name began with that same letter.

Took passage in R. Road at 5 P.M. & arrived in N. York at 11 A.M.

*Wednesday Nov. 30.* Have remained in the City of N. York since 26<sup>th</sup> at the Metropolitan Hotel, the most magnificent Hotel & the best in all its various appointments I ever saw. Have kept an acct. of my every day Expenses. My Hotel Bill is \$15.75. This Hotel was bo<sup>t</sup> lately by Stewart the Merchant \$400,000 in hand & a like sum 1 year.

*Plate.* Bot for my Wife A Silver "Tea Set"

1 coffee pot  
1 tea "  
1 Cream "  
1 Sugar Bowl  
1 Slop "

Paid in Silver Bullion	85
cash	175

260

Wrote to my Wife, giving advice of purchase, Dec. 2. Plate. To be sent by Adams Express, Care of M<sup>r</sup> Von Phul, S<sup>t</sup> Louis.

*N. York Nov. 30.* Took the Cars in the afternoon & went to Phil<sup>a</sup>. Stop'd at "Guard House"

*Dec<sup>r</sup> 1. Thursday.* My Birthday. Left Ann in Phil<sup>a</sup> to come on with Capt Farmer & made my way in the Cars to Washington, & stop'd at Browns Hotel Penn<sup>a</sup> Av.

*Washington City Dec. 2. Friday.* Looked about, in this great Fermenting-Tub of party politics, intrigue & Vice, but could ascertain little of what is going on under the Surface.

My Room N<sup>o</sup> 131.

M<sup>rs</sup> Cuthbert 359 Arch S<sup>t</sup>

My Sojourn in New Mex<sup>o</sup> We passed the Enchanted spring on the 22<sup>d</sup> Aug. 1852, early in the day, & travelled

West until we reached Water at a famous spring the name not recollected. I therefore entered the Territory on that day. And on the 9<sup>th</sup> day of Sept 1853 I passed the "Enchanted Spring" on my return to S<sup>t</sup> Louis, in the Night & encamped in the Valley of the Cimeron. I therefore left the Ter. on the 9<sup>th</sup> Sept. I therefore lived in the Ter. from Aug. 22<sup>d</sup> '52 until Sept 9 '53.

Letters rec<sup>d</sup>, Dec<sup>r</sup> 2, Wash<sup>n</sup>, Hazleton, Ashurst, Gorman & Watts from Sta Fé. Graves from Taos & Baker from Jackson. Wrote to M<sup>rs</sup> Lane Sarah M<sup>r</sup> G. & Willie, & sent a Note to Doctr Law & my card & address to his Father.

Dec. 3. Introductory Letters & dispatches Gen<sup>l</sup> Armstrong from Thomas [?] note Hon. C. S. Nitt, N Rep. from Graves, card Joseph Bryan Esq. from Judge Houghton, Note Rev Ben Ed<sup>d</sup> Gray, from Capt Graves, card, M<sup>r</sup> Burwell Ed White, Repup. from [?] note Hon. Ed<sup>d</sup> Bull, N.R. Ohio, from Grainer, card. Col. Sherman, Wash note Hon. S. P. Chase, Senate Note Rev M<sup>r</sup> Slievr Met M.E. Church from Ch<sup>s</sup> Nicholson, note

*Dec. 5. Washington City.* remained in the city the 3<sup>d</sup> & 4<sup>th</sup>. This day being the 1<sup>st</sup> Monday in the Month is the day fixed for the Meeting of Congress.

R. Frank Green's letter, dated Sta Fé, Nov. 1 .52, sent to S<sup>t</sup> Louis 7 forw<sup>d</sup>, rec<sup>d</sup> at Wash<sup>n</sup> 3 Dec. Wrote the Letter with a Note sup<sup>r</sup> of the Convent at Carondelet on the 5<sup>th</sup> Dec. & requested the inf<sup>n</sup> which M<sup>r</sup> G. requests about Miss Virg<sup>a</sup> Harper, 12 y<sup>rs</sup> old, to be sent to me here.

*Dec. 6, Tuesday.* Took Seat in the Capitol, as a Contestant for Seat of Delegate. President's Message read.

Introduced to Lieu<sup>t</sup> J. C. Strain U.S. Navy, by A. R. Corbin. M<sup>r</sup> S. has been designated by the Sec. Navy, with fear & trembling, to run a line of Levels from Caledonia Bay, to Panama bay, (I believe), the distance is about 40 M<sup>s</sup> & has a River at each end with a Single hill of 150 feet in height, near mid-way, the harbours at each end being good.

It is proposed to cut a Canal from ocean to ocean, without a lock to be 150 feet wide at the bottom, So as to allow the largest Ships of war to pass each other, in the Canal. The tide rises 23 feet on the pacific side & 3' on the Atlantic, Making a difference of water level at high-tide of 20 feet. M<sup>r</sup> Strain is authorized to expend \$1380 in his operations by M<sup>r</sup> Sec. Dobbins, And the purpose is to verify explorations & levelings already made, & perhaps to vary the route, a little to the N., midway the line of transit.

*Friday 9<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup>.* Have remained in Wash<sup>n</sup> since the 6<sup>th</sup> & have made many agreeable acquaintances.

*Monday 12<sup>th</sup> Dec.* In Wash<sup>n</sup> since 9<sup>th</sup> awaiting the appearance of Padre Gallegos who is s<sup>d</sup> to be in the city somewhere.

*Thursday 15.* Still awaiting the arrival of the Padre, but becoming impatient

Deposited \$442 in gold with M<sup>r</sup> Browns clerk, for safe keeping

Waited upon the President this day (15<sup>th</sup>). It was the first time I had seen him & I tho<sup>t</sup> of Ovid's account of Phœtin's [Phaethon] attempt to drive the chariot of the Sun, & its disastrous result, which I read when a School boy, & which I have not read since.

Mem. The Padre arrived, the evening of the 16<sup>th</sup>.

The Ship "Great Republic" at N. York, Nov. 28/53.

Tonnage, 4500 Tons, but capable of carrying 6900 Tons.

3511 Tons Iron Used in her Construction, is over 3000 feet long, draft of water 22 feet. M<sup>r</sup> Leech

Went on board the "Baltic—Collins Steamer The "Atlantic" lay near her.

*Addresses.* Gen<sup>l</sup> Scott, 12<sup>th</sup> S<sup>t</sup> bet. 5<sup>th</sup> & 6 av. N. York

Geo M. Gordon, late Sutler of F<sup>t</sup> Massachusetts, now Wash<sup>n</sup>

M<sup>r</sup> Gales

I. Disturnell, N. York Map Maker

I. W. Scott of S<sup>t</sup> Louis M<sup>o</sup> called & left his card, who is he?  
Leanna Lee's husband

C. H. Martin?

Douglass Howard, Rep. H<sup>s</sup> Rep. Seat left of Speaker

S. J. Spiegelberg (Solomon-Jacob) care of Gans Leberman & Co. Phil<sup>a</sup>

John L. Dawson (son of Geo.) Atty at Law Brownsville  
P<sup>a</sup>

John T. Hogg, N. York

W<sup>m</sup> Claude Jones Esq<sup>r</sup> app<sup>l</sup> for Judgship in N. Mex.

W<sup>m</sup> Preston, L<sup>t</sup> Col. Militia in war with Mex.

Mem. Cong. '53, 54.

Ferdinand W. Risque, GeoTown D. C.

*Saturday 17 D<sup>r</sup> Washington.* Wet day. Ann dined with her quondam school mate, Miss Juliana Gales, at her Adopted Fathers, M<sup>r</sup> Gales, Ed. N. Intel. Called for her myself, after dark. M<sup>r</sup> G. was indisposed with neuralgia (Gout ?), & had retired to bed. His seat is on the heights, some 2 M<sup>s</sup> from the Gen<sup>l</sup> P. office. But I could not see the grounds.

Miss Juliana's name is Walker. Her Mother is sister of M<sup>rs</sup> Gales & is a widow. M<sup>rs</sup> G. has no child & has adopted her niece Juliana.

*Wash<sup>n</sup> Sunday 18<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup>.* In the city waiting counts.

*Dec. 19<sup>th</sup> Monday.* The Padre presented his credentials & was sworn in as Delegate &, I sent in a Memorial Contesting his right to a Seat.

*Tuesday 20.* Memorial ref<sup>d</sup> to Co<sup>ee</sup> on Elections.

*Wed. 21.* Chairman of Com<sup>tee</sup> on Elections, informed me, that nothing would be done (in my contest) until after the Holidays. Had an interview with P. M. Gen<sup>l</sup> about Mail Service in N. Mex.

*Thursday 22<sup>d</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup>.* At Breakfast, Judge M<sup>c</sup> Lain openly expressed his opinion, that our country was descending, the

scale of morality, so rapidly, "that an example, had ceased to encourage Republican Institutions, abroad; & that our Gov<sup>t</sup> would, in all likelihood, continue to decline rapidly, until a despotism would ensue. He averred that the "Judicial arms of the Gov<sup>t</sup>, the Legislative & executive arms. Now, is the Judge unnecessarily apprehensive; or are his fears well grounded? I have had my own misgivings, for some time. Ever since the Presidency of Gen<sup>l</sup> Jackson, for whom I voted, the first time, (but not the second), from which may God preserve me.

I have not left the Hotel today. Am not very well. M<sup>rs</sup> M<sup>c</sup>Kay present sent by Col Stewart, to the care of Col Larned.

*Friday 23<sup>d</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup>.* Rec<sup>d</sup> letter of 16<sup>th</sup> to me & 1 to Ann. Wrote to my wife, to Sarah & to Frank Adams, long letters.

Called for Settlement of my own accts, & for explanation of Wingfield's, at Ind<sup>a</sup> Off. & called at Comptrollers office.

*Saturday 24<sup>th</sup>.* In Wash<sup>n</sup> visited Smithsonian Institute, with Ann. Met M<sup>rs</sup> Scott (Leanna Lee.

*Sunday, Christmas.* I do not remember to have passed so quiet a Christmas in my whole life, or rather to have seen such quietude around me on every side. No Reports of Fire-arms, No Crackers, No Squibbs, order & perfect quietude reigned everywhere.

Ann went, with M<sup>rs</sup> Gales, to our Episcopal Ch. & I afterwards went to the Unitarian Church & heard Transcendental Pantheistic Sermon, from D<sup>r</sup> Channing, which I could not comprehend.

## HOLM O. BURSUM, SHERIFF 1894

*By* DONALD R. MOORMAN\*

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of Western History which has captured the imagination of the American people has been the problem of law enforcement. Seemingly, few aspects of this field remain to be covered. The colorful sheriffs and marshalls of Tombstone, Dodge City and Topeka have been duly enshrined on the American Mantel. The sheriff's victims,—prostitutes, gamblers, rustlers and murderers have seen their reputations gain a certain air of respectability but yet the real heroes in the quest for law and order have been relegated to the dusty archives of universities.

In most Territories the period of lawlessness seldom extended beyond a twenty or thirty year period, and even within this range the key population centers of the Territory absorbed most of the lawlessness. Whether or not we believe that the frontier attracted a particular breed of men, we must concede that the frontier catered to men looking for a chance to make their mark in the world. In their anxiety to make their mark, they often were not concerned with the letter of the law. King Colt's decisions were final and the sentence was seldom appealed.

The frontier society of New Mexico did not lend itself to the typical Turnerian hypothesis. Spanish institutions and attitudes combined to make law enforcement somewhat unique. The *patrón*, many times, administered penalties for minor violations, while Spanish respect for authority tended to minimize their participation in major crimes. Consequently, one finds that the bulk of serious crimes was committed by non-Spanish speaking people. The Spanish, how-

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\*The author's doctoral dissertation was *A Political Biography of Holm O. Bursum, 1899-1924*. Department of History, The University of New Mexico, 1962. Ms.

ever, seem to have been guilty of a greater share of minor offenses.

Holm O. Bursum, the subject of this paper, arrived in the New Mexico Territory during his late teens. When he put forth his name as candidate for Sheriff, he had lived through several Indian encounters, helped survey a railroad route, and through wise investment and clever horse trading had acquired a large-sized ranch.

Bursum's bid for election as Sheriff of Socorro County had an unusual twist. Often districts found it difficult to find a clerk who could read or write. On election morning the polls at Mogollón, a town in Socorro County, were closed for want of a literate clerk. At 9:30 in the morning a prominent stock raiser, Charlie Ward, rode into town to vote. The book-keeper in a cross-roads store commandeered Ward to act as clerk of the elections. After explaining the town's dilemma, he hauled Ward off to jail. The local officials appointed him clerk and forced him to receive the ballots through the bars of the jail. As soon as the polls were closed the ballots were carried across the street to old John Coffee's saloon and counted over the bar. When Charlie Ward signed Bursum's election certificate, he was allowed to return to his ranching business.<sup>1</sup>

The policing of Socorro County was sufficient to tax the ability of even the most determined officer. During the 1890's the county occupied an area of 15,386 square miles, extending west from central New Mexico, a distance one hundred and seventy miles to the Arizona state line. At its widest point the county was approximately 85 miles in distance; more than one-fourth of it was mountainous. These mountains gave the Territory a brief mining boom in the 1870's, but by 1890 many of the key mining districts were dying. When Bursum was elected Sheriff in 1894, the exit of miners from Socorro County was conspicuous.

One early inhabitant of the region related how, as a

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1. *Washington Star*, February 2, 1923.



young girl, she sat on the steps of a local mercantile company and counted the wagons as they rolled out of town. It seemed to her that the town was dying a cancerous death. Merchants went bankrupt because they were deserted by their customers, miners fled because of the lack of work, and the "rowdy element" left out of sheer boredom. However, since the Southwest was one of the last havens for the reckless breed, Bursum was familiar with the gangs of Black Jack Ketchem, the original Black Jack Christian, Broncho Bill, Butch Cassidy, and Kid Curry. The list was enlarged by Jimmy the Tough, Tom Crow, Buckskin Bell, Kid Johnson, and Dan Pinkins.

Highway robbery was frequent in the western Territories and sometimes a bit of local humor was injected into a normally serious situation. San Antonio and White Oaks, New Mexico, were blessed with frequent stage service. On October 7, 1896, the east bound and west bound stages were held up. The four highwaymen first attacked the east bound stage at 4 o'clock in the afternoon. Fortunately, no passengers were aboard so the bandits had to content themselves with a few mail sacks. The disgusted robbers then followed the mail route eastward, exchanging their tired horses at a prearranged rendezvous for fresh ones. Six hours after the first hold-up they stopped the west bound stage. The stage driver willingly gave over the mail sacks and was ordered down from his platform. Next the lone passenger stepped down from his dust-ridden compartment. The passenger, David Tanner, had apparently been in the same predicament on another occasion, for as he stepped down he managed to drop his pocketbook under the stage. Seeing that Tanner had little to offer, the bandits took his hat, gloves, and pipe. This was a common practice in the west and greatly facilitated tracing of the bandits. However, on this occasion, the bandits were confronted with a sad tale of poverty—in fact the story was so sad that the bandits gave Tanner seven dollars in change. When the bandits left the scene, the

would-be man of poverty picked up his wallet and happily concluded that the robbery had netted him a three dollar profit.<sup>2</sup>

A posse was sent from Lincoln and Socorro Counties, but with few results.

Every sheriff seems to have had one criminal who posed a special problem. Bursum's nemesis was Black Jack Ketchem. Tracing the encounter of Bursum and Ketchem was interesting for it so happened that the sheriff was chasing two Black Jack bands simultaneously. However, on June 26, 1897, Black Jack Christian was killed near Clifton, Arizona. For the next two months a posse searched for the remaining elements of the gang, but was limited by the problem of expense.

I am sure that I can get every man of them if there was only some means to pay the expenses of keeping the search up, but the county has no available means that could be used for this purpose and I cannot personally afford to stand the expense any longer, in as much as the county is unable to do anything towards defraying the expenses, it has been suggested that money might be raised by subscription, and I thought perhaps you might feel disposed to do something regarding [sic] paying the expenses of keeping a posse after the outfit until I get them, I dislike very much to have to call on citizens in this way on a matter of this kind, but conditions are such that if the expense of continuing the case is not raised in this way it will be impossible to successfully accomplish anything. . . .<sup>3</sup>

In order that he might make his point more emphatic he speculated on the future of Socorro.

The killing of Smith and the fact that the perpetrators of the deed have not been caught has hurt this county with outside people a great deal. It is not only the killing of Smith but they [the Ketchum gang] are constantly stealing horses, cattle, and if this condition of affairs is not stopped and the

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2. *Socorro Chieftan*, October 8, 1896.

3. H. O. Bursum to W. S. French, July 16, 1897. *Bursum Papers*, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

guilty not brought to justice people will be afraid to come into the county and securities will naturally decrease. . . .<sup>4</sup>

By August 20, 1897, Black Jack Ketchem complicated the scene by ravaging Western Socorro County. He was also accused of shooting and killing Ed Moss and "Shorty" Miller. Bursum sent Deputy Sheriff Shaw to apprehend Black Jack, but the deputy had his horse shot out from under him. Bursum decided to send out Indian scouts to trace down the killers. The Indians were aware of the dangers of their occupation. Consequently they insisted that the posse follow a mile behind. The Indians reasoned that if they were stopped by the bandits there would be little danger of being shot. However, as a part of a posse the danger of meeting a violent end was increased appreciably. On this occasion the Indians sent word that they had located one of the camps of Black Jack. The posse was called forth and a member of the gang was captured, but was later shot trying to escape.

The irony of the chase was made known when Bursum returned with his posse of tired men. While he was chasing Black Jack's gang, Black Jack appeared in Socorro looking for Sheriff Bursum, but fled before the Sheriff's return. Upon hearing this Bursum remounted a fresh horse and once more traced the bandit through the wilds of New Mexico and on the seventh day found himself within a few hours of the desperado. Thinking he could easily capture the bandit on the following morning, he made a dry camp.

The next morning he realized his mistake. Black Jack had managed to get to a ranch and barter for a fresh horse. The owner of the ranch had been a personal and political enemy of Bursum so he willingly allowed the criminal to escape.

Bursum never did capture Black Jack, but several years later as Superintendent of the Territorial Penitentiary he had the task of witnessing the hangman's noose around

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4. *Ibid.*

Black Jack's neck. Black Jack still had the last laugh, however; when the noose was placed around his neck he complained about the inefficiency of the operator. In Black Jack's words, "Hurry please, I don't want to be late for dinner in hell!"

No account of a Sheriff's life would be complete without humor. During the Spanish-American War a great deal of recruiting occurred in the Territory. The recruiters were so effective in their arguments that the Spanish-Americans found it embarrassing to resist signing up. In the midst of this recruiting Bursum was forced to apprehend several train robbers. He decided literally to cut them off at the pass, but he needed a posse. When he rode into town, he could not locate a single male inhabitant. Although the criminals were eventually apprehended, he wondered about the male shortage. When he inquired, he met this answer, "Señor, we think you recruiting man, and we all hide under our beds."

In the spring of 1896 an indictment for murder was issued against Frank Williams, but he disappeared before he could be tried. Rumors throughout the county claimed Williams had been murdered. Boldly, his companions led Sheriff Bursum to the scene of the crime. The camp was in disarray with blood spattered on Williams' saddle and blanket. At first, it appeared that Williams had been killed and his body carried away. Bursum was not satisfied with what he saw, so he took blood samples and had them sent to the University of New Mexico Zoology Laboratory. The blood belonged to a horse—Williams was later apprehended.<sup>5</sup>

This brief incident in Bursum's life could give the impression that the major preoccupation of the frontier sheriff was in apprehending dangerous criminals—this assumption is not true.

Two problems which were chronic were Indian depredations and finances. In the first instance the Sheriff acted as a moderating influence between Whites and Reds. The local

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5. *Socorro Chieftan*, September 25, 1896.

newspapers blamed many of the crimes committed in the region on the Indians. As one newspaper lamented:

Never a year passes but some of our citizens are murdered by these red devils, and never a year comes when their agents give whole bands of them written permission to rove at will over western Socorro County. It is then that they steal horses, kill cattle, and murder travelers.<sup>6</sup>

Still later the same paper continued the attack:

There is no use wasting words, one life like that of James Cornell is worth the whole Navajo and Apache nations, and a stop should be put to these incursions of Indians, and if their agents and the government who have them in charge will not stop it and keep them on their reservations, then the people of the county should arm themselves and drive every one of them from Socorro County, and if they will not go peacefully use force, and while using force use enough to see that they do not come back. The idea of letting these red devils out in the fall of the year on the pretext of hunting when their sole aim is to kill cattle, steal horses and murder, is something unheard of, and every fall the same thing is repeated in western Socorro County. Our people are sick of it.<sup>7</sup>

One of the most illuminating facets of this study was the financial problems faced by peace officers. For instance, if an officer left the Territory in search of a criminal he was reimbursed only if the trip was a success. Many times the officer would try to secure free railroad passage to soften the burden. One letter will serve to demonstrate this point.

I have made some trips all ready on requisition papers and the last failed to get my man. The Territory in any event only pays the actual expenses of bringing a prisoner from another state. There is no fee connected with the serving of requisition papers, and when an officer as agent for the territory fails to bring the prisoner the territory will allow him nothing. The very best an officer can expect is to make his actual expenses.

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6. *Socorro Chieftan*, October 4, 1895.

7. *Ibid.*

Now, while I am in favor of bringing all persons charged with crime before the proper tribunal, so that they may be brought to trial I cannot afford to run the chances of failing to arrest the parties wanted and bear the whole expense personally. I therefore request from you if after due consideration you may consider my request . . . to extend my transportation as far east as Kansas City.<sup>8</sup>

The railroads supported law officers in this respect. The fact that Bursum was also an Old Guard Republican did not hurt him. However, if special expenses were incurred in tracing down robbers for the railroads or the Wells Fargo Company, they were billed for services rendered.

Federal prisoners were kept in the Socorro County jail at a cost of sixty cents per prisoner per day. The county housed its own prisoners at the same location at the cost of fifty cents per prisoner per day. It seems that even in Territorial days the Federal Government was subjected to extra charges. This in turn made the Federal Marshal reluctant to pay even legitimate claims. Only constant pleading of the most humanitarian nature received a response.

This man is a poor man and is (has) been out of money for a long time and I would be much obliged to you if you would make an effort to get this matter straightened out promptly.<sup>9</sup>

If collecting money from the Federal Government was difficult, then extracting just claims from the Territory was impossible. Under the Territorial law of 1890, a Sheriff was to be paid mileage at the rate of 12½ cents per mile actually and necessarily traveled, to apprehend a criminal within the Territory. The same law awarded 12½ cents a mile for the prisoner and one guard. Furthermore, the Sheriff, prisoner, and guard were to be paid \$1.00 per day for food and lodging. Although the law was specific in its intentions, the Territorial treasurer seldom lived up to the letter of the law. In

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8. H. O. Bursum to Mr. Hurley, July 19, 1895, *Bursum Papers*.

9. H. O. Bursum to E. L. Hall, August 3, 1895. *Ibid.*

fact it became so difficult to reimburse guards that the practice of using them almost disappeared. Many a Deputy Sheriff lost his life for the lack of a few pieces of silver.

Not only did the Sheriff have difficulty in being reimbursed for personal outlays from the Territory, but he also found it virtually impossible to collect rewards which the Territory posted. In 1893 the claims against the Territory far exceeded the amount appropriated. The rewards that a Territory offered were an important part of the Sheriff's income. Rewards probably added approximately \$50 to \$100 in additional income to Bursum. His total salary was near \$250 per month. However, part of this salary went to subsidize the income of numerous deputy sheriffs.

The Deputy Sheriff's salary was determined by two factors. In the first instance it depended on the generosity of the Sheriff and in the second on the generosity of the town. The town's contribution was about \$100 per month. This combination normally netted a salary of \$125 a month for a deputy. However, documentary material seems to indicate that in smaller communities the townspeople bore the complete financial burden of law enforcement. However, the deputy sheriffs were not always sure of their monthly salary and the Sheriff would have to publish a monthly plea in the town's newspaper.

To the people of Mogollon:

Gentlemen:

Kindly pay over to Mr. C. H. Kirkpatrick the amount of your subscription for the month of July, for services rendered as Deputy Sheriff, during that time, and oblige!<sup>10</sup>

More often than not the plea fell on deaf ears, and generally the Sheriff returned the responsibility back to the deputy:

I believe it would be best if you would collect the money yourself. It seems to me that, that would be the most satisfactory

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10. H. O. Bursum to People of Mogollon, August 12, 1895, *Bursum Papers*.

way to all parties. There could be no jealousy [*sic*] or feeling on the part of the business men in dealing with the party direct, however it makes a little difference to me which way the money is collected just as long as you get your pay.<sup>11</sup>

Every month the financial position of the Sheriff and his deputies balanced on the brink of financial disaster. The salient effect of the position was that it made the sheriffs more resolute when they tracked a criminal with a reward. Sometimes the Sheriff would exert influence to increase the reward.

Yes, I have warrant for John Hinton, am very anxious to get him. There is a reward of \$200. I think that by doing a little work we can get it increased to \$500. If agreeable I will try to have it increased and we can divide it.<sup>12</sup>

Not only did they try to increase rewards but in some cases they stretched the meaning of the law to protect their investment.

Herewith find warrant for Maynard. Be sure and don't let him go. Don't allow him to talk to any lawyers as he might try and take him from you in this way. There has been too much expense involved to let him go now, and I simply sent you this warrant for your protection.<sup>13</sup>

Although the Deputy Sheriff's life was similar to that of a Sheriff he bore a great deal of the burden of law enforcement and had a higher fatality rate. The deputies were appointed by nationality and party affiliation. Spanish-American deputies were appointed in Spanish communities while Anglo-Americans were appointed in non-Spanish speaking towns.

The tenure of the Deputy Sheriff was directly tied to the successful political life of the Sheriff; consequently, both

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11. H. O. Bursum to C. Baca, Deputy Sheriff, Mogollon, August 2, 1895, *Bursum Papers*.

12. H. O. Bursum to H. W. Loomis, Deputy United States Marshall, Albuquerque, October 2, 1896, *Ibid*.

13. H. O. Bursum to Hon Walker, El Paso, September 16, 1895, *Ibid*.



men heavily supported their party. Party support was so extreme on the frontier that it was said that when one purchased a pair of shoes they were either Republican shoes or Democratic shoes—if one had an attack of appendicitis he either had a Republican appendix or a Democratic appendix.

The political importance of local sheriffs is a factor seldom understood by writers of western tradition. National issues and historical figures more often than not determined the political success of the Sheriff. A key issue in the election of 1896 was the free and unlimited coinage of silver. When eastern Republicans adopted a "solid gold" platform Western Republicans found themselves in an embarrassing situation. The issue of free silver was clearly understood by the Sheriff of Socorro County.

I tell you . . . I have canvassed nearly every precinct in this County, I have the sentiment of the people throughout the neighboring Counties . . . I have the sentiment of the people . . . and I say to you when you say that the silver plank referred to will not hold the Silver Republicans in line, you are simply erring in your judgement . . . I can name you fifty, yes one hundred Silver Republicans who will cheerfully support in a substantial manner the Republican ticket with a plank for silver. These gentlemen would vote on the other side on a straight gold platform.

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You may say that the coinage of the American product is not an issue before the people, I say to you if it is not an issue we will make it an issue.<sup>14</sup>

Bursum reminded his reader that the Republican Party of the Territory had supported the increase in the use and coinage of silver in every election of the past decade. Now the Party placed itself in the unfortunate position of being against any further coinage of silver. After reviewing the Party's past platforms, Bursum lashed out at the Party's lack of harmony.

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14. H. O. Bursum to R. E. Twitchell, September 15, 1896, *Sheriff's Records*.

I would rather remain consistent on the whole with the people even though my view were not altothogether [*sic*] consistent and in harmony with the Republican party. I believe in party support. I believe in the principals [*sic*] that will best serve the interests of our people. . . . If you are willing to sacrifice the election of our territorial and county ticket for the sake of being in strict accord with the St. Louis platform I am not with you. The interests of every true Republican should be the success of his party.<sup>15</sup>

Bursum won the election as did the national Republican candidate, William McKinley. Bursum's career as Sheriff was a stepping stone into the United State Senate. His political career hit its zenith in 1924 when he was seriously considered as a vice-presidential nominee, but he refused the position because of pressing financial difficulties.

The Sheriff of the Southwest was an individual turned hard against the desert. His financial condition was chaotic, his dreams confined to returning to the parched ranch, but he lived the drama of the west even though this memory is diluted by fantasy.

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15. *Ibid.*

## ERNA MARY FERGUSSON

1888—1964

We are gathered here to unite in paying a final tribute to the life and memory of our beloved friend, Erna Fergusson, who met death in Albuquerque on July 30, 1964, with characteristic courage. Miss Fergusson was sustained in the final months of her suffering by the beauty of her beloved Sandia Mountains as seen from her armchair on the porch of her Veranda Road home, and comforted in the last weeks of her illness by the presence of her brother, Francis Fergusson, Professor of Comparative Literature at Rutgers University, and her sister, Mrs. C. Spencer Browne, of Berkeley.

It is fitting and proper that these services should be held in the University of New Mexico Memorial Chapel, located on the campus of the University which awarded her a Bachelor of Arts degree in 1912, and in which she always manifested such a great interest, beginning with her activities as a student, which included early-day membership in the Phi Mu sorority and the award to her in 1943 of an honorary degree of Doctor of Letters.

Any program for the benefit of the University of New Mexico, whether it be improvement of the physical plant through construction of new buildings, or any betterment in the courses of study, received her loyal and active support. No program of the "Lectures Under the Stars" was complete without Erna Fergusson's active participation.

Erna Fergusson had a distinguished ancestry on both sides of her family. Her mother was Clara Huning, a daughter of Franz Huning and Ernestine Huning. Franz Huning came to New Mexico in 1853, not long after the American Occupation. He settled in the Rio Grande Valley, made Albuquerque his permanent home, participating to a great extent in the development of the area, particularly after the coming of the railroad in 1880. On the paternal side, Erna's father,

Harvey B. Fergusson, born in Alabama, the son of an officer in the Confederate Army, serving on the staff of Gen. Robert E. Lee, was an outstanding lawyer in the New Mexico of a generation ago. Fate played a part in the lives of Harvey B. Fergusson and Clara Huning, when as a young lawyer Mr. Fergusson came to White Oaks, New Mexico, in 1882, from Wheeling, West Virginia, to represent a client of his firm, Jacob, Oracraft & Fergusson, involved in extensive litigation over the Old Abe Mine. Harvey B. Fergusson and Clara Huning were married in early-day Albuquerque. On January 10, 1888, Erna Fergusson was born, named Ernestine after her grandmother, the name being quickly shortened to Erna.

Erna Fergusson spent her childhood days in and out of the Huning Castle, built on a part of a seven-hundred acre tract of Franz Huning's land. For many years the Castle was a land mark in Albuquerque. In childhood Erna learned the German language from her grandparents; and she learned Spanish from playmates in Old Albuquerque, a language which she later studied seriously, and in which she became fluent. A part of Erna's childhood and girlhood was spent in Washington, D.C., where her father was a Delegate in Congress, having been elected from New Mexico to the Fifty-fifth Congress, serving from March 4, 1897 until March 3, 1899. He was subsequently elected as a member of the Sixty-second Congress in the first State election, serving from January 8, 1912 until March 3, 1915. While a delegate in Congress, Mr. Fergusson was successful, on June 21, 1898, in obtaining the passage of the Fergusson Act, a vastly important statute which granted to New Mexico four million acres of public domain in trust for the use and benefit in perpetuity of the common schools of New Mexico.

Educated in Albuquerque, and in Washington, D.C., Erna Fergusson was graduated in 1906 from the Albuquerque High School. Like so many young women of her time, she began a teaching career after taking a one-year normal course at the University of New Mexico. She taught in the

grades at the Fourth Ward School at Sixth Street between Roma and Fruit Avenues. The building in which she taught was torn down some thirty years ago, and replaced by the more modern Lew Wallace School. Recognizing the need for further education, Erna Fergusson returned to the University of New Mexico, obtaining a B.A. degree in 1912, then went to Columbia University, from which she received an M.A. degree in 1913. Returning to Albuquerque she taught history in the Albuquerque High School. When World War I began Erna Fergusson was anxious to do something for her country to satisfy the patriotic instinct with which she was endowed. The American Red Cross seemed to be the place where her talents would fit best. During 1918 and 1919 she traveled all over New Mexico, by train, automobile, horseback, and at times on foot, doing Red Cross work, helping the soldiers at the front, and their families at home. Needless to say, during this period her ability to speak Spanish was a great asset.

With World War I at an end, and Red Cross days behind her, reluctant to return to schoolteaching, Erna Fergusson went to work as a reporter for the Albuquerque Herald, no longer published, with the late Horace Brand Hening as the editor. While working on the Herald, Erna Fergusson formed a partnership with Miss Ethel Hickey, for years a member of the faculty of the University of New Mexico, engaging in what they were pleased to call the "dude wrangling business." Together they guided tourists to the Indian Pueblos in New Mexico, to the Navajo Reservation in New Mexico and Arizona, to the Hopi Indian snake dances. Later on, when the Santa Fe Railroad began its Indian Detour Service, Erna Fergusson was employed to organize and direct the Detour couriers. It was while visiting the Indian Pueblos and the Indian reservations that Erna Fergusson, already steeped in the lore of Bandelier, of Charles F. Lummis, and through study of the Hemenway Expedition Reports, began serious study of the three cultures, Indian, Spanish, and Anglo, which directed much of the future course of her life.

Erna Fergusson's career as a writer began quite by chance. Witter Bynner, the poet, introduced her in Santa Fe to Alfred Knopf, a New York publisher. Interested in Miss Fergusson's conversation about Indians and Indian dances, Mr. Knopf encouraged her to write a book about her experiences. As a result, *Dancing Gods* was published by Knopf in 1931. This book was an immediate success. To this day it stands unsurpassed as an authentic, readable work on southwestern Indians and their ceremonials. The value of the book was enhanced by the fact that a number of prominent Taos and Santa Fe artists, in a spirit of friendship and generosity, gave her permission to illustrate her book with their paintings. Those who have read *Dancing Gods* will recall the reproduction of famous paintings by Robert Henri, Walter Ufer, E. L. Blumenschein, Gerald Cassidy, John Sloan, Theodore Van Soelen, Will Schuster, Andrew Dasburg, Frank Applegate, Olive Rush, Victor Higgins and others. *Dancing Gods* was later republished by the University of New Mexico Press. With the success of *Dancing Gods*, Erna Fergusson began an entirely new career, which subsequently led to national recognition as an authority on the Southwest, from the dual aspect of author, and lecturer.

During the thirty years of her creative literary work, with Knopf as publisher, Erna Fergusson wrote book after book significantly indicating her far-flung interest in Latin American countries: *Fiesta in Mexico* (1934), *Guatemala* (1937), *Venezuela* (1939), *Chile* (1943), *Cuba* (1946). From the aspect of research, her work was authentic. She spent many months in each country of which she wrote; from the aspect of writing she was a meticulous workman; she would not tolerate the superficial impression, or the generalized expression.

Raymond Holden, writing in the *New York Times* on November 25, 1951, about Erna Fergusson's *New Mexico, A Pageant of Three Peoples*, published in 1951, said among other things:

This portrait of New Mexico is a real work of art. It is a difficult task to paint the portrait of a region, to give it all its dimensions, its color and its life. When the region is one whose history covers the field of human activity from prehistoric man through the Conquistadores to the manufacturers of the atomic bomb and whose topography ranges from sandy desert to pine-clad peaks the task is even more difficult.

*A Pageant of Three Peoples* is scheduled for reissue in a revised edition on August 24 of this year, by Alfred Knopf, emphasizing the accuracy of Mr. Holden's review.

Turning from faraway places, Erna Fergusson was the author of two books of peculiar local interest. In 1947 she wrote *Albuquerque*, published by Armitage. This book could only have been written by someone with much knowledge of early-day Albuquerque, and a great love of early-day people. In 1948 her book *Murder and Mystery in New Mexico*, was published by Merle Armitage; illustrated by Peter Hurd, of San Patricio, New Mexico. In this volume, Erna selected some of the notorious crimes which had been committed during the previous sixty years, and gave her version of the mysteries which surrounded them. She dedicated the book to her father, Harvey Butler Fergusson, "who believed in law and order." This book was an outstanding success.

After the shadows closed in on Erna Fergusson, she was still hopeful that she might live to see the publication of her book on Clyde Tingley, long-time mayor of Albuquerque, and for four years Governor of New Mexico. She had spent a great deal of time and labor in putting this book together. She had interviewed Mr. Tingley many times, and had obtained the benefit of his recollections. All those who were acquainted with Clyde Tingley in his lifetime will realize that Erna Fergusson, in attempting to write about him, had undertaken something very difficult. Governor Tingley was not a man given to keeping a diary, to saving any letters he received, or to keeping carbon copies of his correspondence. During the latter months of the Governor's life his memory

was not too reliable. Desiring to have the book about Clyde Tingley accurate and fair to all concerned, living or dead, Erna worked diligently on it. Unfortunately, she died with the manuscript still unfinished, but there is no doubt but that friends will write the closing words and that the book will be published.

Erna Fergusson's friends and admirers crisscrossed the country. Authors, poets, publishers of national repute always called on her when in or near Albuquerque. New Mexico writers in particular through the years paid her special tributes of friendship and devotion, among them Paul Horgan, Witter Bynner, the late Oliver La Farge, the late Haniel Long, and Angelico Chavez.

Erna Fergusson's contributions to this community, to New Mexico and its people, were significant, important and of enduring quality. Active participation in civic projects spanned her zeal for saving her beloved cottonwood trees from the inroads of a bulldozer to the preservation of our heritage through the medium of the Old Albuquerque Historical Society. Her roots went deep into the soil of New Mexico. She loved it with a passion. New Mexicans were always proud of the fact that she never had any desire to make her home elsewhere.

In recalling her outstanding characteristics, one remembers especially her loyalty to family, friends, political party; her sparkling wit; her tolerance, and her compassionate interest in humanity.

Countless friends will cherish her memory always, knowing that her life has enriched theirs.

W. A. KELEHER\*

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\* Address delivered by Mr. Keleher at the Memorial Services on August 1, 1964.



## WILLIAM JACKSON PARISH

1907—1964

On May 4, 1964, death came suddenly to William Jackson Parish, Dean of the Graduate School of the University of New Mexico. Campus, community, and state, beneficiaries of the intense, varied activity which Dean Parish crowded into his fifty-seven years, know his significant achievements. Now the sharp focus of personal loss further clarifies the man himself—Bill Parish to all who knew him—in relation to the work he has left.

Dean Parish once expressed, almost diffidently, his credo, his conviction that the several disciplines of university and community must be recognized as interrelated and interdependent. At once apparent was his instinct to place the human being at the center of these interdependencies. As educator, economist, or business historian, he was concerned first for man; then for man's means and materials.

Even a cursory review of his university and community service shows his practice of this belief, his obedience to this instinct. In classroom, committee, administration, and research at the University, in his forward-looking deanship of the Graduate School, he strove for improved academic relationships and teaching resources, for the establishment of the University College to benefit entering freshmen—concern for student and standard driving his efforts. His professional articles in diverse publications bear the mark of the humanist as well as that of the trained economist. In city and state, awareness of the needs of man guided his activity: his investigations resulting in the New Mexico small loan laws; his presidencies of the Sandia Foundation, the Albuquerque Council on Foreign Relations, the County Community Council; his work in labor relations; his many directorships, such as that of the Bernalillo County Tuberculosis Association.

But Dean Parish's special contribution to New Mexico, his home since the 1930's, is that of the business historian. He

recognized the treasure in the records of the New Mexico mercantile capitalists, notably those of the Charles Ifeld Company of Las Vegas and Albuquerque, the basis of his doctoral thesis at Harvard in 1950, expanded in 1961 as *The Charles Ifeld Company: a Study of the Rise and Decline of Mercantile Capitalism in New Mexico*. Ledger, account book, and correspondence are here brought to life. Painstaking tables, charts, and analysis set forth the history of mercantile capitalism in all its importance. But further, the integrity of this cool fact is lighted by an imaginative awareness of the men who shaped the early New Mexico economy as they responded to the forces of immigration, frontier fort, and settlement. A related study additionally mined from these veins is "The German Jew and the Commercial Revolution in Territorial New Mexico, 1850-1900," appearing first as the attractive Sixth Annual Research Lecture of the University and later in both the *New Mexico Quarterly* and the *New Mexico Historical Review*. In both studies is the sense of men moving—and moved by—perennial economic forces, figures in a complex, interrelated pattern, acting beyond the accounting of gain and loss to frame the social and cultural milieu.

Dean Parish saw the movement of early New Mexico trade as the old Alexandrian-Carthaginian-Roman trading story retold on the American frontier through the traveling merchants of the Santa Fe Trail. After 1830, the sedentary mercantile capitalists, men like Charles Ifeld and Max Nordhaus, many of German Jewish origin, dominated the scene. Their story is Dean Parish's own peculiar province, explored always with sensitivity to the gentle understanding of Charles Ifeld in his dealings with customer and manager, but with objective awareness of social implications. The vein can be light, as he traces the lure of the Butterick sewing pattern, flicking outward through rural New Mexico from "The Pride of Las Vegas," the department store close to the heart of Charles Ifeld. More important are the serious insights: for example, that the maturing of this mercantile capitalism, as

it involved the rise of merchant banking and such developments as the *partido* contract of the sheep industry, gave rise to some of the more difficult social problems of present-day New Mexico.

Dean Parish saw, too, the fruits of the cultural sensitivity and social conscience of the German Jewish merchants, their fostering of music and drama, of community beautification in a stark land, their defense of the values of personal freedom, tolerance, and amicable compromise denied in the Old World and sought so eagerly in the New.

Through this special focus of historical vision Dean Parish left his own particular accounting of a New Mexico, provincial but touched with the cosmopolitan, catalytic quality of these sedentary merchants, primarily a business history, of course, but a picture of men and the land as well. He made, too, a beginning of future work in his careful editing of the reports of the "Young Observer," the traveling staff correspondent in New Mexico, 1902-1903, for the *American Shepherd's Bulletin*, recently reprinted in this *Review*. A definitive study of the sheep and wool trade in New Mexico has doubtless been lost through Dean Parish's untimely death.

Perhaps it is too early in our history to know the final measure of these works which give "a local habitation and a name" to the records of ledger and statistic. But all along, the large measure of the man has been clear. Let the work of William Jackson Parish be kept in the New Mexico heritage. And let the memory of Bill Parish be kept, too, in its true dimensions of charm and personal force: the sudden smile, the burst of delighted laughter, the stubborn ardor in defense of an idea, the grace and generosity dissolving disagreement; the free giving of costly energy and quick conscience to deep conviction and serious purpose. These the heart remembers, close woven, interlocked with his written word and active deed.

KATHERINE SIMONS

# HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NEW MEXICO

## NEWS NOTES

During our second year of cooperation with the University of New Mexico, now publisher of the *New Mexico Historical Review*, membership and subscriptions have shown a gratifying increase to nearly seven hundred.

This issue completes the thirty-ninth volume of the *Review*, which first appeared in January, 1926, under the editorship of Lansing B. Bloom and Paul A. F. Walter. After the death of Mr. Bloom, early in 1946, Frank D. Reeve took his place, serving as editor until his retirement on July 1, 1964. The Board of Directors of the Society wishes to express appreciation of the fine work he has accomplished during these years.

The new editor, Eleanor B. Adams, hopes to maintain the high standards set by her predecessors. To celebrate its birthday, in January, 1965, the *Review* will appear with a "new look," designed by Roland F. Dickey, Director of the University of New Mexico Press, and Miss Adams, to indicate that the *New Mexico Historical Review* is forty years young.

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*Louise Rutz*, Bulletin Editor



# INDEX

- A & B. Schuster, Arizona sheep firm, 153  
 Abó, pueblo, 236, 239, 240, 241, 243, 244, 245, 246, 248  
 Abadies, Dr., 277  
 Abrams, Mr., 318  
 Acevedo, Fray Francisco de, 246  
 Aadae, missions, 105  
 Adams, Eleanor B., 2, 5, 109  
 Adams Express, 328  
 Agriculture, 10, 41-43, 148, 171-72, 175, 176, 179, 180, 196, 277, 291, 292, 295; Albuquerque, 10; Arizona, 41-43, 148; Indian, 104, 107, 188, 194; Labor, 180, 193. *See also* Cotton; Fruits; Grains; Grapes; Irrigation; Olives; Livestock; Poultry; Wool.
- Agua Caliente, Sonora, 91  
 Aguayo, Marqués de, 105  
 Alameda, pueblo, 5  
 Alamocito, 261  
 Albey, Lt. John W., 213  
 Albuquerque, 1-15, 120, 187, 206, 211, 243, 260, 262, 277, 278, 285, 286, 297  
*Albuquerque Morning Journal*, 261  
 Albuquerque, Duke of, 9  
 Algodones, town, 203, 209, 278, 285, 287  
 Alimstar, population, 217  
 Altar, presidio, 91, 92, 93, 98  
 Alvarez, Fray Juan, 7, 11, 12  
 Alvarez, Manuel, 283, 301  
 Alvarez, Manuel, U.S. Consul at Santa Fe, 20, 21  
 Alvarrill, José, 179  
*American Shepherd's Bulletin*, 45  
 Analco, barrio of Santa Fe, 108-10  
 Angerstein, Ernest, 30  
 Animals, 219, 225, 228-32 *passim*; predatory, 52, 120, 135, 176, 225, 307, 310, 311, 312, 315. *See also* Buffalo; Cattle; Dogs; Game; Horses; Livestock; Mules; Sheep.
- Apache Indians, 7, 10-13, 17, 27, 90-92 *passim*, 97, 98, 99, 106, 190, 196, 222, 229, 230, 235, 339. *See also* names of individual groups.  
 Apache Spring, 224, 230  
*Apostólicos Afanes de la Compañía de Jesús*, quoted, 91-97  
 Arizona, mining, 16-17, 43, 89-100 *passim*, 111, 112, 259, 334; origin of name, 89-100; sheep industry in (1905-06), 40-79, 111-56; Territory, 16-31, 100, 127, 135  
 Arizona, arroyo, 91  
 Arizona, mine called, 89-100  
 Arizona Lumber and Timber Co., 122  
*Arizona Republican*, 61-62  
 Arizona Wool Growers' Association, 44-45  
 Arkansas River, 183, 210, 305, 312, 313, 315, 324  
 Armijo, Juan Cristóbal, 204, 286  
 Armijo, Gen. Manuel, 208, 210  
 Armijo, Rafael, 236  
 Armstrong, Gen. Robert, 304  
 Arroyo Hondo, 304  
 Ascarate, Guadalupe, sheriff, 271, 272  
 Ash Fork, Arizona, 112, 115  
 Ashurst, Merriel, 298  
 Askew, Joe, 270, 271  
 Atziqui language, 244  
 Aubrey, F. X., freighter, 301, 303, 304  
 Aztec Land and Cattle Co., 148, 156
- B. S. & L. Co., Oregon sheepbreeding firm, 131-32  
 Babbitt Bros., merchants, 124  
 Baca y Pino, Jose Antonio, 286  
 Baca y Pino, Pedro, 212  
 Baggs, Mr., 174-75  
 Bailey, Dr. Cyrus, 179  
 Bails, Ed, 272  
 Baird, Spruce McCoy, 206, 207  
 Bandelier, Adolph, 2  
 Baptist missions, 205  
 Barclay's Fort, 288  
 Barrio, José, 173, 177  
 Barrio, Ramón, 175  
 Bartlett, Gen. Edward L., 264  
 Bartlett, John Russell, 189, 300  
 Bartlett Commission, 189, 191, 192  
 Basque sheepmen, 52, 153  
 Bates, Edward, 183, 186  
 Baylor, George W., 262  
 Baylor, Col. John R., 17-18, 22, 27, 30  
 Beale, Edward F., 324  
 Beaubien, Judge Carlos, 290, 291  
 Belén, 286, 287  
 Bell, John J., 263, 272  
 Bell, Judge Joseph, 262  
 Bells, church, 178  
 Benavides, Fray Alonso de, 244-45  
 Benedict, Judge Kirby, 287  
 Benton, Sen. Thomas H., 186  
 Berino, mission, 173  
 Bernal, Juan, 262, 263, 264, 267, 273  
 Bernalillo, 5, 210, 243  
 Bernalillo County, 3-4, 13-14, 209  
 Birds, 233, 307, 311, 315  
 Black, Capt. J. F., 263  
 Bloom, Lansing B., 2, 4-5, 13  
 Bolton, Herbert E. cited, 238
- BOOK REVIEWS: Mills, *Forty Years in El Paso*, ed. by Strickland, 80-81; Brooks, *Mountain Meadows Massacre*, 81-83; Rickey, *Forty Miles a Day on Beans and Hay*, 83-85; Grivas, *Military Governments in California, 1846-1850*, 85-87; Cerwin, *Bernal Diaz: Historian of the Conquest*, 87-88; Bullard, *Cerro Colorado Site*, 160-62; Glanz, *Jew and Mormon*, 162-65; *Guide to the Manuscript Collections of the Bancroft Library*, 165-66; A. B. Gray Report and *Reminiscences of Peter R. Brady*, ed. by Bailey, 166-67; Dockstader, *Indian Art in America*, 167-68; *Mansfield on the Condition of Western Forts*, ed. by Frazer, 253-54; Pearce, *Matador Land and Cattle Company*, 254-56
- Borradaile, Capt. John, 261  
 Bosque Grande, Albuquerque area, 5, 10. *See also* Trujillo, Doña Luisa de.  
 Botella, Sgt., 265, 269  
 Brazos Santiago, 32, 34, 37-38  
 Bristol, Judge Warren H., 263-64, 266, 267, 272  
 Brito, Juan de León, 109  
 Brophy, Hank, 264, 265, 269  
 Brown, R. T., 114  
 Brownsville, Texas, 32, 34-35, 37  
 Buffalo, 129, 238, 241, 311-17 *passim*  
 Building, 124, 139, 141, 172-73, 175, 176-80  
 Bull, Sheriff, 258

- Bull, Lt. Charles F., 259  
 Bull, Judge Thomas, 28-29, 217  
 Bursum, Holm O., Sheriff (1894), 333-44
- Cacti, 214, 225; as food, 176  
 Calhoun, James S., 181, 182, 187  
 California, 1-2, 3, 19, 24, 111, 130, 150;  
   legend of, 89  
 Camelback Mountain, 40  
 Campbell, Colin, 49-50  
 Campbell, Hugh, 49-50, 126  
 Campbell, W. H., 49, 50-51  
 Campbell & Francis, 50, 126  
 Canadian River, 305, 309  
 Candelaria, Juan de, *Noticias*, 5  
 Candelario, Luis, 179  
 Cannonville, Utah, 57  
 Cárdenas, Benigno, 310  
 Carleton, Gen. James H., 16, 183, 288, 292,  
   302  
 Carr, Presley, 183  
 Carson, Wm. G. B., ed., William Carr Lane  
   Diary, 181-234, 274-332  
 Casa Colorado, 208, 286, 287  
 Casales, town, 286  
 Cassidy, Butch, 335  
 Castañeda, Pedro de, 236  
 Castaño de Sosa, 241, 242  
 Castildavid, early Spanish settlement, 238  
 Cataract Wash, Ariz., 133  
 Catron, John, Supreme Court justice, 182  
 Cattle, 7, 10, 43, 56, 172, 305, 306; Ariz.,  
   66-67  
 Cattle stealing, 257-73, 336-37, 339  
 Cedar Glade, Ariz., 113  
 Central New Mexico Stock Growers' Associa-  
   tion, 272  
 Cerralvo, Mexico, 104  
 Chamberino, history of, 169-80  
 Chandler, Col. D. T., 286  
 Chaves, Francisco II, 260  
 Chávez, Fray Angélico, 5, 109  
 Cheres, *see* Keres  
 Cheyenne Indian, 77  
 Chichimecas Indians, 102, 106; Guachichiles,  
   103  
 Chigua, *see* Tiwa  
 Chihuahua, city, 259, 271, 279  
 Chihuahua, state, 19, 90, 169, 171, 175, 189,  
   192  
 Chililí, pueblo, 236, 238, 239, 242, 243, 246  
 Chilmos Indians, 10  
 Chouteau, Cyprian, fur trader, 319  
 Christian, Black Jack, 273, 335, 336  
 Churches, Albuquerque, 7, 10, 11; Chamber-  
   ino, 172-73, 176, 177-78; Phoenix, 61;  
   Santa Fe, 108, 109  
 Cimarrón Crossing, 183, 307  
 Cimarrón River, 308, 309, 310, 311  
 Cimarrón Valley, 308, 311, 329  
 Civil War, 17-31 *passim*, 32-39, 200  
 Clark, Robert Emmett, 14  
 Claros, Fr., 243-44  
 Cleland, Margaret Serena, 212, 213  
 Clendenen, Clarence C., Mexican Unionists,  
   32-39  
 Cleveland, President, 48  
 Clifton, Arizona, 336  
 Coahuila, 104, 106
- Coalter, Thomas H., 125  
 Cochetopa Pass, 322, 324  
 Cochiti, pueblo, 7  
 Cock fights, 175  
 Coconino County, Arizona, 116, 121  
*Coconino Sun*, 136  
 Collins, Col., 293, 303, 325, 327  
 Collins, Frank, 231  
 Collins, Joe, 203, 208, 213, 219, 231, 232  
 Collins, Dr. John, 184  
 Colorado, N.M., 258, 259  
 Colorado River, 19, 26, 115, 141, 148, 301  
 Colville, James, 264, 265  
 Comanche Indians, 106, 207  
 Common Lands, 170-71  
 Concordia, Texas, 262  
 Conklin, James, 283  
 Conkling, Alfred, minister to Mexico, 195  
 Connelley, Dr. Henry, 206, 207, 211, 212, 288  
 Cook, Col. St. George, 308  
 Cooper, Tom, 264, 265, 270  
 Copper Mine Mountains, 230  
 Cornell, James, 339  
 Coronado, *see* Vázquez de Coronado  
 Cortina, Gen. Juan Nepomuceno, governor  
   of Tamaulipas (1864), 33-39 *passim*  
 Cotton, 32, 43, 180  
 Council Grove, 317, 319, 323-24  
 Cow's Spring, 224, 230, 233  
 Coyote skins, uses, 135  
 Cozzens, Samuel H., 30  
 Cravens, Jim E., 272, 273  
 Crittenden, Alvin, Ohio sheep breeder, 132  
 Cuarc, pueblo, 246  
 Cubero, Nestor, 263, 266, 269, 272  
 Cuchillo Negro, Apache leader, 222, 231  
 Cuelozo, *see* Gran Quivira  
 Cuervo y Valdés, Gov. Francisco, 6, 8-11, 13  
 Cuniffe, Henry, 297  
 Curry, Kid, 335
- Daily's Ranch, 265, 266  
 Darby, John F., 183; *Personal Recollections*  
   185-86  
 Day, Col. Henry M., 34-39  
 Democratic Party, 343-44  
 Dent & Sayer, Arizona sheep firm, 130-34  
 Dog Knobs, Arizona, 133  
 Dogs, racing, 175; shepherd, 49, 134  
 Doña Ana, town, 30, 191, 192, 215, 217, 219,  
   222, 233, 259, 267  
 Doña Ana County, 18, 19, 24, 26, 30, 171,  
   258, 259, 263, 267, 271; elections, 28; pro-  
   bate court, 28-29  
 Doña Ana County Stock Association, 270  
 Doña Luisa, *see* Trujillo, Luisa de.  
 Drayton, Brig. Gen. Thomas F., 37  
 Dutch settlers, at Chamberino, 179
- Eagle Pass, Texas, 105  
 Echarzarretas, Col. Miguel, 32, 38  
 Education, religious, 173. *See also* Schools.  
 Edwards, J. G., sheepman, 131  
 Ejidos, grant to Refugio Colony, 170-71  
 El Paso, 18, 23, 30, 109, 169, 170, 174, 178,  
   191, 192, 233, 259, 267, 269, 279; church,  
   211  
*El Paso Lone Star*, 269  
 El Tuerto, N.M., 242



- Elephant Butte Dam, 180  
 Elephant Park, Arizona, 117  
 Elias, leader of Mimbres Apaches, 27  
 Ellison, Samuel, Territorial Translator, 203, 206, 208, 210, 214, 217  
 Embudo, town, 294, 297  
 Emmons, Frank, 266, 267, 269  
 Enchanted Spring, 307, 309, 328  
 Enríques, José, 261, 262, 263  
 Escalante, Fray Silvestre, *see* Vélez de Escalante.  
 Escalante Arvisu, Manuel, 93  
 Escandón, Gov. José de, 106-7  
 Espejo, Antonio de, 108, 240, 244  
 Espinosa, Dr. José Antonio de, 9-11  
 Evans, Jessie J., 257  
 Ewell, Capt., 276, 277, 285, 293  
 Ewing, George, 302  
 Ewing, Nathaniel, 184  
 Ewing, Priestly, 322
- Faraón Apaches, 10  
 Farmington gang, 270  
 Farris, Mr., Ohio sheepman, 132  
 Feather, Adlai, Territories of Arizona, 16-31; Origin of the Name Arizona, 89-100  
 Felipe V, *see* Philip V.  
 Fergusson, Erna, 345-50  
 Fillmore, President, 181-82, 183  
 Flagstaff, Arizona, 44, 46, 50, 53, 57, 115, 121, 122, 125, 133, 135, 141  
 Fletcher, François, 193, 223  
 Ford, Col. John S., C. S. A., 32, 35, 38  
 Forsyth, Lt. Col. George A., 257-58  
 Ft. Atkinson, 183, 313  
 Ft. Bellefontaine, 184, 185  
 Ft. Conrad, 193, 209, 211, 213, 221, 274, 275, 278  
 Ft. Cummings, 257-58  
 Ft. Defiance, 229  
 Ft. Fillmore, 22, 100, 192, 216, 217, 233, 259  
 Ft. Harrison, 184  
 Ft. McLain, 27  
 Ft. Thorne, 193  
 Ft. Union, 183  
 Ft. Webster, 190, 192, 193, 217, 222, 225, 233, 278, 300  
 Foster's Hole, *see* Tinaja Springs.  
 Fountain, Capt. Albert J., 258-72 *passim*  
 Fountain, Lt. Alberto, 262  
 France, U.S. relations with, Civil War, 33-34  
 Francis, D. M., partner of Hugh Campbell, 50, 126  
 Franciscans, 103, 108. *See also* names of individuals.  
 Franklin County, Texas, 18  
 Fray Cristóbal, town, 213, 214, 218, 274  
 Free Silver, 343-44  
 Friedlein & Morse, merchants, 135-36  
 Fronteras, Presidio, 96  
 Fruits, 42-43, 65, 172, 179, 283, 285, 294, 298, 299  
 Fuel, 122, 173, 308, 311
- Gadsden, James, 195  
 Gadsden Purchase Treaty, 18, 89, 99, 171, 196  
 Galisteo, pueblo, 10, 12  
 Galisteo Basin, 236, 240, 244  
 Gallegos, Elena, 5  
 Gallegos, Fr. José Manuel, 198, 204, 295, 296, 297, 298, 301, 330  
 Gallegos Relation, 240, 241  
 Game, wild, 176, 219, 225, 228-32 *passim*, 241, 305, 307, 308, 311-17 *passim*, 319, 324  
 García, Tránsito, 173, 177  
 Garland, Gen. John, 284  
 Garrard, Lt. Kenner, 205  
 Garrett, J. M., 59-60  
 Genízaros, 109  
 Genobey, pueblo, 244  
 Georgetown Courier, 268  
 Geyer, Henry S., 195  
 Gila Apache Indians, 10, 193, 223  
 Gila River, 20, 40, 100, 190, 193, 194, 224, 226, 228, 229, 230, 233, 263, 274  
 Glasgow, Carr Lane, 201  
 Glasgow, William, Jr., 195, 197, 200, 326  
 Glasgow & Bro., merchants, 304  
 Glenn, R. H., 30  
 Golden, N.M., 242  
 Gómez, Pablo, 263, 272  
 Gooding, Gov. F. R. (Idaho), 130  
 Gosney, E. S., sheepman, 44, 45, 126  
 Gosney & Kilgour, 45-46  
 Gosney and Perkins' Bank, 126  
 Government Lands, 129, 140; grazing, 127-29 *passim*, 151  
 Grains, 10, 42, 171-72, 174, 178, 210, 212, 217, 218, 227, 273, 290, 316, 317  
 Gran Quivira, 236, 239, 240, 241, 243, 244  
 Grand Canyon, 57-58, 117, 133, 148  
 Grand Canyon Reserve, 128  
 Grand River, 324  
 Grant, Gen. Ulysses S., 39  
 Grant County, 30, 267  
 Grapes, 43, 172, 179, 209, 227, 277, 315  
 Graves, Capt. E. A., 284  
 Grazing, *see* Government Lands; Pasturage.  
 Greene, W. C., 68  
 Greenleaf, Richard E., Founding of Albuquerque, 1-15  
 Greiner, John, 210  
 Guachichiles Indians, 103  
 Guadalajara, Mexico, 93, 95, 98  
 Guadalupe, town, *see* Altar, presidio.  
 Guadalupe Hidalgo, Treaty of, 20, 89, 169, 188-89  
 Guadalupe Mountains, 235
- Hackett, Charles W., 2  
 Hall of Fame, New Mexico, 158  
 Hammond, George P., 2  
 Hampson, Chloe, 180  
 Hanover, N.M., 26  
 Hansen, W. S., Utah sheepman, 130  
 Harrington, J. P., 248  
 Hart, T., sheepman, 140  
 Hay Creek, 131, 132  
 Health Resorts, 62-63, 69, 111  
 Heintzelman, Maj., 16  
 Herron, Maj. Gen. F. J., 35, 36  
 Hibben, H. S., 136  
 Hibbin, Dennis S., 115, 136  
 Highway robbery, 335-36  
 Hillsboro, 265, 272  
 Hinton, John, 342  
 Historical Society of New Mexico, 157-59, 201, 354-55

- Hodge, F. W., 245  
 Holbrook, Arizona, 148-50, 155  
 Horse stealing, 257-73, 336-37, 339  
 Horses, 43, 58-59, 115, 175, 287, 290; race, 58, 64, 67-68, 175  
 Howard Sheep Co., 123  
 Howe, Maj. Marshall S., 209, 212  
 Howgle, Dr., 297  
 Houghton, Judge Joab, 294, 300, 306, 327  
 Houston, Texas, 37  
 Huerfano River, 324  
 Huffaton, Thomas, 323  
 Hughs, Jimmy, 263  
 Hulet, John R., sheepman, 150  
 Hull, Joseph, 263, 267  
 Humana Indians, 235-249  
 Hurtado, Capt. Martín, 4, 12  
 Hutchinson, C. C., sheepman, 44, 45, 47-49, 120
- Images, 176, 177  
 Independence, Mo., 183, 191, 317, 322, 323, 325  
 Independence Mail Stage, 198, 303, 304  
 Indian Affairs, Superintendent of (1850's), 187, 199-200  
 Indian art, 124, 144, 154. *See also* Navajo weaving.  
 Indian schools, 75-79, 317  
 Indian scouts, 337  
 Indian traders, 147, 150, 152, 153  
 Indians, 74-79, 104-7, 217, 226; agriculture, 42, 104, 107, 188, 194; ceremonials, 77; hostilities, 7, 10, 11-12, 16, 27, 93, 97, 181, 184, 187-88, 189, 190-91, 196, 229, 235, 338-39; labor, 102, 103; trade, 12-13, 218. *See also* individual Indian groups.  
 Inquisition, Holy Office of, 7  
 Insects, 176, 298, 308, 309, 312, 313  
 Intermountain Sheep Co., Utah sheep firm, 130  
 Irrigation, 41, 61, 156, 172, 175-76, 180, 193, 228; prehistoric, 41  
 Irwin, Nat, 264, 265  
 Isleta, pueblo, 244, 261-62; language, 248
- J. R. Allen & Bros., Utah sheep firm, 130  
 Jackson, President, 186, 332  
 Jacobs, Ed C., Indian Agent, 284  
 James Kirke & Bros., Utah sheep firm, 130  
 Janos, Chihuahua, 224, 259  
 Jaques, José de la Luz, 170  
 Jémez, pueblo, 7, 233; language, 248  
 Jémez Creek, 236, 238  
 Jémez Valley, 238  
 Jerome Junction, Arizona, 113, 114  
 Jesuits, accounts of Sonora, 91-97; missions, 104  
 Jicarilla Apaches, 188  
 Jila, *see* Gila.  
 Jilson, Arthur, 264  
 Johnson, Lt. Joseph E., 293  
 Johnson, Pete "Topsy", 264, 265, 270, 271, 272  
 Johnston, Col. R. H., 323  
 Jones, J. B., merchant, 120  
 Jones, Samuel, collector of customs, 24  
 Jones, William Claude, U.S. Attorney (1850's), 21, 24, 30
- Jornada del Muerto, 23  
 Jose Nuevo, Apache leader, 222, 231  
 Joseph City, Ariz., 155-56  
 Juárez, Benito, 33  
 Jumano Indians, *see* Humana Indians.
- Kansas Indians, 317-18  
 Kansas River, 322  
 Kaw Indians, 318  
 Keesee, Robert, 266, 267  
 Keith, John E., Idaho Sheepman, 130  
 Keithly, Levi, 289, 291  
 Keleher, W. A., Erna Fergusson, 345-50  
 Ker, Capt. Croghan, 206  
 Keres Indians, language, 239, 244, 245  
 Ketchem, Black Jack, 335, 336  
 Kilgore, Abbie, 180  
 Kilgour, J. M., 45, 47  
 Kingman, Ariz., 115  
 Kingsbury, John M., 300, 304  
 Kingston, 264, 265, 266, 269, 270  
*Kingston Tribune*, 266  
 Kinney, John, 257-73  
 Kinney, Juana Pruencia, 261, 263-64  
 Kinney, Mike, 261, 263-64  
 Kirkpatrick, C. H., 341  
 Klamath Pass, 322
- La Mesa, 261, 263  
 La Salle expedition, 105  
 Labadie, Dr. Lorenzo, 204  
 Labor, Basque, 153; Indian, 102, 103; Mexican, 46, 48-49, 53, 153; Negro, 180; sheep industry, 46-54, 120, 134, 151, 153  
 Laboratory of Anthropology Sites, 238, 239, 240, 243  
 Lafon, Fr., 173, 177  
 Lagunero Indians, 104  
 Lake Palomas, 259  
 Lake Valley, 258, 259, 264-69 *passim*  
*Lake Valley Herald*, 266  
 Lamy, Bishop John B., 197  
 Land, title to, 1-15  
 Land grants, Mexican, 169-171  
 Lane, Anne Ewing, 181, 199, 327  
 Lane, Mrs. Mary Ewing, 182-85 *passim*, 278, 288  
 Lane, Richard, 184  
 Lane, Sarah Stephenson, 183, 326  
 Lane, Victor Carr, 186, 326  
 Lane, William Carr, biography, 181-200; Diary, 201-34, 274-332  
 Langworthy, Dr. Elisha P., 213, 302  
 Las Cruces, 18, 258-72 *passim*  
 Las Vegas, N.M., 198, 225, 262, 292-93, 309, 311, 315  
*Las Vegas Daily Gazette*, 262  
 Law, Judge John, 302, 326  
 Law, Mexican, 170; Mexican mining, 98; Spanish Colonial 1-15 *passim*, 170  
 Law enforcement, 257-73 *passim*, 333-44  
 Lea, L., Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 207  
 Leasburg, 259  
 Lee's Ferry, 115  
 Leland, William "Butch," 264, 265, 266  
 León, Guadalupe, 263, 266  
 Letrado, Fray Francisco, 246  
 Lexington, Mo., 325, 326  
*Ley de fuga*, 266

- Liberty, Ohio, 132  
 Libraries, 62, 113, 189  
 Limitar, town, 208, 210, 287  
 Lincoln, President, 16, 17, 33, 183  
 Lincoln County, 257, 259, 264, 336  
 Linguistics, Saline pueblos, 235-49  
 Little Arkansas River, 317  
 Little Burro Mountains, 225, 226, 230  
 Little Colorado River, 141, 148, 155, 156  
 Little Coon Creek, 314  
 Little Hell's Canyon, 114  
 Livestock, 43, 64, 67, 115, 123, 142, 171, 172, 176, 275, 276. *See also* Cattle; Horses; Sheep.  
 Lockett, H. C., 51-52  
 López, Faustino, 261, 263, 270, 272  
 López, Francisco, 175, 179  
 López, Pedro, 5  
 López, Vicente J., 179  
 Lordsburg, 263, 264  
 Los Lunas, 262  
 Lucas, James A., 18-31 *passim*, 90, 100  
 Lumber, Ariz., 25, 122, 129  
 Lyda, Isaac, 272  
 Lynch, George, 258  
  
 McDermott, Charles C., 58-59  
 MacKenzie, Gen. Ranald S., 258  
 McKinley, President, 344  
 McPherson, Judge, 3  
 Magoffin, James Wiley, 279  
 Mangas Coloradas, Apache Leader, 194, 196  
 Manypenny, George, 196, 197  
 Manzano Mountains, 236, 239, 240, 241, 244, 247, 248  
 Maricopa County, Ariz., 40-43, 61, 63, 119, 124, 152  
 Maricopa Indians, 42  
 Marques, José, 170  
 Marshal, U.S., 264, 340-41  
 Martínez, Fr. Antonio José, 197  
 Martínez, Lorenzo, 92  
 Mason, R., 258  
 Matamoros, 33, 34  
 Maximilian, Emperor of Mexico, 33  
 Mayers, Abraham G., 235  
 Mecham, J. Lloyd, 240  
 Melbourne, H. R., 53  
 Meléndez, Pablo, 215, 217, 218, 327  
 Merchants, 124, 134, 150, 151, 153, 174, 335  
 Meriwether, Gov. David, 194, 195, 198, 284, 285  
 Mesa, Ariz., 41-42  
 Mescalero Apache Indians, 192, 218, 235  
 Mesilla, 18-30 *passim*, 100, 169-80 *passim*, 188, 189, 190, 196, 197, 202, 217, 224, 258, 259, 260, 264, 269, 300  
*Mesilla Valley Democrat*, 19  
*Mesilla Valley Independent*, 174  
 Mesquite, 226; beans, 176; root, 173  
 Messervy, William S., 299, 302  
 Messervy & Webb, 207, 232, 276, 283, 300  
 Mexía, swamps of, 5  
 Mexican Unionists, 32-39  
 Mexico, 6, 24, 32-39, 89, 90, 92, 97-98, 169-71, 180, 181-82, 190-95, 259, 265  
 Mézières, Athanase de, 105-6  
 Miera, Ignacio, 203, 278, 287  
 Miguel, Fray Francisc de, 244  
 Miles, Col. Dixon S., 216  
 Mills, 25, 172, 174, 178  
 Mimbres Apache Indians, 27, 193, 223  
 Mimbres River, 274  
 Mina de Planchas, 90  
 Mina del Padre, 90, 98, 99  
 Minas de Bolas, 90  
 Minerals, 17, 29, 65, 89-100, 277, 278, 279, 288, 292-93, 301, 304, 305, 309  
 Mining, 16-17, 24-26 *passim*, 27, 29, 43, 89-100 *passim*, 102, 103, 112, 217, 224, 283, 309, 334-35  
 Missions, Baptist, 205; Methodist, 317, 323; Saline pueblos, 235  
 Mississippi River, 322, 325  
*Missouri Republican*, 200  
 Mogollón, 334, 341  
 Mogollón Mountains, 152, 156  
 Monclova, 105  
 Monroe, President, 184  
 Monterrey, Francisco, 291  
 Monterrey, Mexico, 104  
 Moore, Lt., 313  
 Moore, A. J., 62  
 Moorman, Donald R., Holm O. Bursum, Sheriff, 333-44  
 Mora, town, 198, 289, 290  
 Mora Valley, 290  
 Morales, Celso, 270, 272  
 Morales, Estevan, 270, 272  
 Morrison, A. L., Jr., U.S. Marshal, 264  
 Mowery, Sylvester, 21, 25, 29  
 Mudersbach, John, 54-55  
 Mule Springs, 221, 222, 232, 278  
 Mules, 274, 287, 294, 306, 308, 313, 314, 316, 317, 318, 324  
 Murphy, Tom, sheriff, 272  
  
 Nacogdoches, 105  
 Nambé, pueblo, 279, 280, 281, 282  
 Navajo County, Ariz., 148, 151  
 Navajo Indians, 16, 142, 143, 188, 207, 293, 339; postal service, 125; Reservation, 119, 125, 142; weaving, 124, 142, 143-47, 154  
 New Mexico, 3, 4, 14, 334; colonial, 6, 89, 107-8, 235-49; Territory, 16, 18, 19, 20, 23, 28, 30, 31, 130, 169, 181-82, 197, 233, 257, 264, 272, 285, 291-98, 301, 302-3, 329, 333-44  
 New Mexico Historical Review, ownership, 158  
 New Spain, colonization, 101-10 *passim*; viceroy, 9-11, 96, 102, *see also* names of individuals.  
 Newcomb, Simon B., 267  
 Newman, E. B., sheepman, 55, 155  
 Newspapers, 19, 25, 29, 61-62, 111, 136, 174, 261, 262, 263, 266, 268, 269, 271, 272, 339  
 Nombre de Dios, mission, 173  
 Norris, Lt. Charles E., 222  
 Noyes, Maj. E. J., 36  
 Nueva Tlaxcala (Taos district), 107-8  
 Nueva Tlaxcala, San Esteban de, 103-4  
 Nueva Vizcaya, 97  
 Nuevo León, 106  
 Nuevo Santander, 106  
 Nuts, 43, 179  
 Nutt Station, 258, 264  
 Nye, William F., 100

- Ocaranza, Fernando, 110  
 Ojito de San Ramón, 93  
 Ojo la Vaca, *see* Cow's Spring.  
*Old Observer*, 40-79, 111-156  
 Olives, Ariz., 65-66  
 Oñate, Juan de, 108, 240-44 *passim* 248  
 Organ Mountains, 26, 278; mines, 99  
 Orrantia, Ygnacio, 29, 173, 174  
 Ortiz, Ramón, 169  
 Ortiz Parrilla, Col. Diego, 106  
 Osage Indians, 318  
 Ostrich breeding, Phoenix, 72-74  
 Otermín, Gov. Antonio de, 108  
 Otero, Miguel Antonio, 207, 208, 212, 218, 229, 274, 275, 277  
 Ouopa, Cpl. Pedro, 259  
 Oury, Granville M., 21, 24, 26, 28, 30  
 Overland Mail Line, 25  
 Overman, Charles, merchant, 276, 277  
 Owens, Clarence, sheepman, 155  
 Owings, Lewis S., 21, 26, 29
- Paako Pueblo, 238-48 *passim*  
 Padilla, Sheriff Marcial, 28  
 Paiute Indians, 325  
 Pajarito, 261  
 Palomas, 259  
 Parish, William J., 351-53  
 Parras, Santa María de las, mission, 104  
 Paso del Norte, *see* El Paso.  
 Pasturage, 149, 151, 152, 232, 309-19 *passim*  
 Pawnee Fork, 314, 316  
 Pawnee Indians, 318  
 Pecos, pueblo, 244, 288, 304; language, 248  
 Pecos River, 19, 293  
 Pedraza, Eugenio, 261, 263, 273  
 Peinado, Fray Alonso, 246  
 Peralta, town, 206, 212, 213, 236, 287  
 Perea, Fr. Esteban de, 245, 246  
 Perea, Jacinto, 175, 177, 179  
 Perea, José Leandro, 210, 287  
 Pérez de Luxan, Diego, 241  
 Perkins, W. W., sheepman, 140  
 Perkins & Noble, Ariz. sheep firm, 140  
 Perrin, Dr. E. B., Ariz. sheepman, 118  
 Philip V, 11, 96  
 Phoenix, Ariz., 40-63 *passim*, 72, 111-12, 119, 126  
 Picuris, pueblo, language, 248  
 Picuris Creek, 290, 293  
 Pierce, President, 187, 195  
 Pierce, L., U.S. Consul at Matamoros (1864), 34-35, 36  
 Pigeon River, N.M., 274  
 Pimeria Alta, 94; missions, 92  
 Pino, Facundo, 238  
 Pino, Jose de la Luz, 173  
 Pino, Pedro, *see* Baca y Pino.  
 Pinos Altos, Ariz., 27  
 Pinto, Fr., 173  
 Piro Indians, 240, 244, 245  
 Pitic, Plan of, 3  
 Pitt River Pass, 322  
 Placer Mountains, 293  
 Plains Indians, 109  
 Plants, poisonous, 52, 53, 54, 140  
 Pojoaque, pueblo, 279, 280  
 Ponce, Indian chief, 194, 223-31 *passim*  
 Pope, Capt. John, 205, 211
- Portezuelo, pueblo, 243  
 Pottery, Indian, 247  
 Postal Telegraph, 61, 123  
 Poston, Charles D., miner, 16, 90, 99, 100  
 Poston, Samuel, 24  
 Poultry, 66, 176, 235  
 Prescott, Ariz., description, 112-13  
 Prospectors, *see* Mining.  
 Provincias Internas, Comandancia General, 3  
 Puaray, pueblo, 241, 242, 244  
 Pueblo Blanco, 236. *See also* Tabira.  
 Pueblo Indians, 198, 235-49, 279-283. *See also* individual groups and pueblos.  
 Pueblo Pardo, 236, 239  
 Pueblo Revolt of 1680, 108-9  
 Punche, 172
- Quarai, pueblo, 239, 240, 243, 246, 248; language, 236  
 Quelite, as food, 176  
 Quellotezei, *see* *Gran Quivira*.
- Rabbit Ear Creek, 292, 308  
 Railroads, 58, 63, 112, 120, 122, 148, 156, 189, 196, 322, 334, 340. *See also* Santa Fe Railroad.  
 Rainfall, N.M. (1853), 233-92 *passim*, 295, 316; Salt River Valley, 42  
 Rasch, Philip J., Rustler War, 257-73  
 Ratón Mountain, 292  
 Rattlesnakes, 228, 231  
 Ray, Charles, 259, 263, 271, 272, 278  
 Read, Rev. Hiram Walter, 205  
 Red River, 106  
 Reeve, Frank D., ed., Sheep Industry in Arizona, 40-79, 111-56; mentioned, 2  
 Refugio, civil colony, 169-71  
 Reiridon, T. A., sheepman, 123  
 Republican Party, 340, 343-44  
 Reyes, Gen., 259  
 Richardson, Maj. Israel Bush, 216, 217  
 Riley, John H., 270  
 Rincón, 258, 259, 267  
 Río Abajo, district, 7, 209, 210  
 Río Arriba County, 296, 297  
 Río de Laguna, 324  
 Río de Loza, Rodrigo, 102-03  
 Río de Paloma, N.M., 274  
 Río del Norte, *see* Río Grande.  
 Río Grande, 6, 14, 16, 18, 32, 37, 107, 169, 190, 193, 208, 210, 213, 215, 218, 219, 229, 231, 233, 235, 236, 240, 241, 242, 243, 245, 247, 248; floods (1834-86), 175-77; water rights, 1-15 *passim*  
 Río Grande Valley, 24, 198, 201, 324  
*Río Grande Republican*, 261, 271  
 Río Mimbres, 190, 222, 231  
 Río Puerco, 148, 236  
 Riordan, Ariz., 120  
 Roads, 16, 41-42, 177, 193, 194, 297, 305, 306, 311-12, 324  
 Robledo, N.M., 215  
 Robles, Dionisio, expedition, 92, 93  
 Rodríguez-Chamuscado expedition, 238-42 *passim*, 245, 248  
 Ross, Gov., Edmund G., 273  
 Rucker, Maj. Daniel Henry, 205, 308  
 Rustlers, 257-73  
 Rynerson, Col. William L., 258, 264, 267

- Sabinal, town, 210, 276, 278  
 Sains, Doroteo, 261, 262, 264  
 Sains, Mauro, 261, 263, 270, 272  
 Sains, Pancho, 264  
 St. Louis, Mo., 182, 185-86, 287, 304, 306,  
 322-29 *passim*  
 St. Vrain, Vincent, 290, 294, 326  
 Salazar, Capt. Francisco, 260, 263, 264, 270,  
 272  
 Salazar, Teodoro, 93  
 Saline pueblos, language, 235-49 *passim*;  
 Spanish settlement in, 235  
 Salt River Valley, 40-43, 61, 115  
 Saltillo, 103, 104, 105  
 Salvation Army, 71  
 San Antonio, Texas, 105  
 San Felipe, pueblo, 7, 238, 239  
 San Francisco de los Tlascalans, 105  
 San Francisco Mountains, 121, 122, 156  
 San Ildefonso, pueblo, 246  
 San Juan, pueblo, 242  
 San Juan Bautista, presidio, 105  
 San Luis Potosí, 103  
 San Marcos, pueblo, 242  
 San Miguel, town, 172, 288  
 San Miguel County, 297  
 San Pedro, N.M., 242  
 San Pedro Arroyo, 240  
 San Prieto Mountains, 112  
 San Sabá, mission, 106  
 Sánchez, Franco, 286  
 Sánchez, Victoriano, 267  
 Sand Creek, 312, 313  
 Sandia, pueblo, 204; language, 248  
 Sandia Mountains, 12  
 Sangre de Cristo Pass, 324  
 Santa Ana, pueblo, 7, 238  
 Santa Barbara, town, 193, 219-34 *passim*  
 Santa Cruz de la Cañada, 295, 296  
 Santa Fe, 24, 29, 107, 108-10, 181-95 *passim*,  
 233, 246, 260, 278-98 *passim*, 303, 322, 324,  
 327; archives 20; cabildo, 6-7, 11, 12; U.S.  
 Consul at, 20  
 Santa Fe County, 301  
 Santa Fe Mail Stage, 183  
 Santa Fe New Mexican, 263  
 Santa Fe Railroad, 58, 63, 113-23 *passim*,  
 133, 139, 147, 148, 155, 156  
 Santa Fe River, 108  
 Santa Fe Trail, 16. *See also* Roads.  
 Santa María, Fray Juan de, 240, 241  
 Santa María de Grado, 12. *See also* Galisteo.  
 Santa Rita, mines, 309  
 Santo Domingo, pueblo, 7, 242  
 Santo Tomás, population, 217  
 Santos, *see* Images.  
 Sapello River, 288, 293  
 Sawyer, E. A., 55  
 Sayers, Thomas, 130  
 Scholes, France V., 2, 246  
 Schools, 61, 123-24, 173-74, 175, 179-80, 290.  
*See also* Indian Schools.  
 Schroeder, Albert H., Language of the  
 Saline Pueblos, 235-49; cited, 194  
 Scorce, J. L., merchant, 151-53  
 Sears, Phildelia, 180  
 Seely, John H., Utah sheepman, 130  
 Seligman, Ariz., 46, 122  
 Sellers Station, 258  
 Seven Rivers, 235  
 Sever, Estevan, 178  
 Shannon, John, 265, 269  
 Shaw, Deputy Sheriff, 337  
 Shawnee Indians, 320, 323  
 Sheep, industry in Ariz. (1905-06), 40-79,  
 (1906) 111-56; N.M., 172, 275-76. *See*  
*also* Wool.  
 Sheldon, Gov. Lionel A., 258, 263, 264, 269,  
 270, 271  
 Shoemaker, Ellen, 306  
 Shoemaker, Capt. William R., 306  
 Shriners, 70-71  
 Sierra, Margarito, 261, 262, 272  
 Sierra Blanca, 235  
 Sierra de Puaray, 244  
 Sierra Gorda, 106  
 Sierra Morena, *see* Manzano Mountains.  
 Silver City, N.M., 19, 258, 266, 268, 271  
 Simmons, Marc, Tlascalans in the Spanish  
 Borderlands, 101-10  
 Simons, Katherine, William J. Parish, 351-53  
 Simpson, Gen., 290  
 Slinger, Lt., 206  
 Smith, E. T., Ariz. sheepman, 114  
 Smith, Frank, servant of Gov. Lane, 183,  
 200-18 *passim*, 275, 283, 289, 294, 300-10  
*passim*  
 Smith, Hugh N., 288, 302  
 Smith, J. M., 194  
 Smith, Rev. Lewis, 298  
 Smithsonian Institution, 326, 332  
 Socorro, 11, 209, 240, 259, 286, 300  
 Socorro County, 334-43 *passim*  
 Sonora, 19, 89-100 *passim*, 259  
 Southwest Sentinel, 261-72 *passim*  
 Spanish-American War, 338  
 Spiegelberg, S. J., merchant, 276  
 Stage service, 304, 313, 335  
 Stanislaus Co., sheep breeding firm, 119  
 Steck, Dr. Michael, 300, 302  
 Steele, Capt. William, 213, 275, 286  
 Steen, Maj. Enoch, 190-96 *passim*, 222, 229,  
 231  
 Stephenson, Hugh miner, 99, 191, 216  
 Stone & Snyder, *see* Stanislaus Co.  
 Sumner, Col. E. V., 187, 192  
 Tabirá, pueblo, 239, 243, 246  
 Tajiique, pueblo, 236, 239, 246  
 Tamaulipas, 33  
 Tanner, David, 335-36  
 Tano Indians, 240, 248  
 Taos, pueblo, 198; called Nueva Tlascala,  
 107-8; language, 248  
 Taos, town, 290, 291, 293, 324  
 Taos County, 293  
 Taos Valley, 291, 293  
 Taovaya Indians, 103  
 Tarascan Indians, 103  
 Tecolote, town, 288, 292  
 Tecumseh, 184, 323  
 Tewa Indians, *see* Tewa Indians.  
 Tenabó, pueblo, 239, 240  
 Terán, Domingo de, 105  
 Tesuque, pueblo, 203, 323  
 Tewa Indians, 242, 246  
 Texas, 1, 18, 19, 33, 34, 35, 104, 105, 106,  
 107, 190, 196, 210, 283

- Thomas, Francis J., court clerk, 303  
 Thornton, William T., 264, 267, 268  
 Tiguex province, *see* Tiwa province.  
 Tihua Indians, *see* Tiwa Indians.  
 Tihues, 245, 247. *See also* Piro Indians.  
 Tijeras Canyon, 239, 243, 244  
 Tinaja Spring, 219, 221, 232, 234  
 Tioas, *see* Tiwa Indians.  
 Tithes, 217  
 Tiwa Indians, 236, 239, 240, 241, 242, 244, 245, 246-47  
 Tlascala, Gregorio de, 108  
 Tlascalan Indians, 101-10  
 Tobacco, *see* Punche.  
 Toltec Indians, in Arizona, 41  
 Tompiro Indians, 245, 247  
 Tonto Dam, 41-42  
 Tornillo, beans, 176; wood, 108  
 Torres, Guadalupe, 263  
 Torres, Pedro, 208, 276  
 Trade, 218; with Indians, 12-13. *See also* Indian traders.  
 Treaties, Gadsden Purchase, 18, 89, 171, 196; Guadalupe Hidalgo, 20, 89, 169, 188-89; Indian, 194, 223  
 Trinity River, 105  
 Trujillo, Luisa de, 5, 6, 7  
 Trujillo, Martin, justice of the peace, 263  
 Tubac, 16, 99  
 Tucson, 17, 21, 22, 26, 27  
 Tuley, Murray F., 205, 285, 297, 302  
 Tungee Pueblo, 238, 242  
 Tunque Arroyo, 238, 239, 240, 242  
 Twitchell, Ralph E., 201  
 Tziqui Indians, 244
- Ulibarrí, Juan de, 6, 12, 13  
 University of New Mexico, Zoology Laboratory, 338
- Valverde, town, 213, 219, 233, 274  
 Van Patten, Capt., Eugene, 258, 260, 270, 271  
 Vásquez de Coronado, Francisco, 107, 248  
 Vegetation, 122, 208, 213, 219, 225, 226, 227, 229, 290, 301, 305, 306, 307, 314, 315, 318, 319  
 Veinte Reales, Mimbres Apache, 231  
 Velasco, José Francisco, quoted, 90-97, 99, 100  
 Velasco II, Luis de, Viceroy, 102  
 Vélez de Escalante, Fray Silvestre, 110, 246
- Verde River, 40  
 Veron, A., French Officer, 35-36  
 Vetancurt, Fray Agustín de, 246, 248  
 Volcanic formations, 117, 121, 233
- Wagons, 274, 304, 306, 312, 313, 315  
 Walton, R. B., 57-58  
 Want, Marguerite Taylor, Crumbling Adobes of Chamberino, 169-180  
 Ward, Charlie, 334  
 Ward, John, 211, 212, 215, 217, 229, 231, 324  
 Washington, D.C., 327, 328, 330  
 Water, 61, 128, 133, 138, 149, 151, 177, 289, 305, 306, 307, 310, 313, 318, 329; pueblo rights doctrine, 1-15 *passim*. *See also* Irrigation.  
 Watts, John, 264, 265, 266  
 Watts, Judge John Serbie, 302  
 Webb, James Josiah, *see* Messervy & Webb.  
 Weightman, Richard, 189  
 Wells Fargo Company, 340  
 Western Union, 61, 123  
 Wetzler, Julius, merchant, 153  
 White Mountain Apaches, 218  
 White Mountains, 141  
 Whiting, David V., 324  
 Whittington, Charles H., mail agent, 316, 317, 318, 323  
 Whittmore, C. E., sheepman, 155  
 Wilkinson, Gen., 326  
 Williams, Ariz., 114; description, 116-17  
 Wilson, Mrs. Newton R., 201  
 Wingfield, E. H., Indian Agent, 193, 196, 197, 223, 231, 232, 235  
 Winslow, Ariz., 119, 138-41, 143, 147  
 Wisconsin State Historical Society, Library, 201  
 Wood, Dave, Sheriff, 270, 271, 272  
 Wool, 126, 172; markets for, 50, 52, 142, 149; Mexican, 142; prices, 46-60 *passim*, 141, 150. *See also* Sheep; Navajo Weaving.
- Yaeger, Henry C., sheepman, 55-56  
 Yaqui Indians, 91, 94  
 Yavapai, plains, 40  
 Yavapai County, 113
- Zacatecas, 103  
 Zía, pueblo, 7  
 Zúñi, pueblo, 239, 301  
 Zúñiga, Ignacio, 92

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